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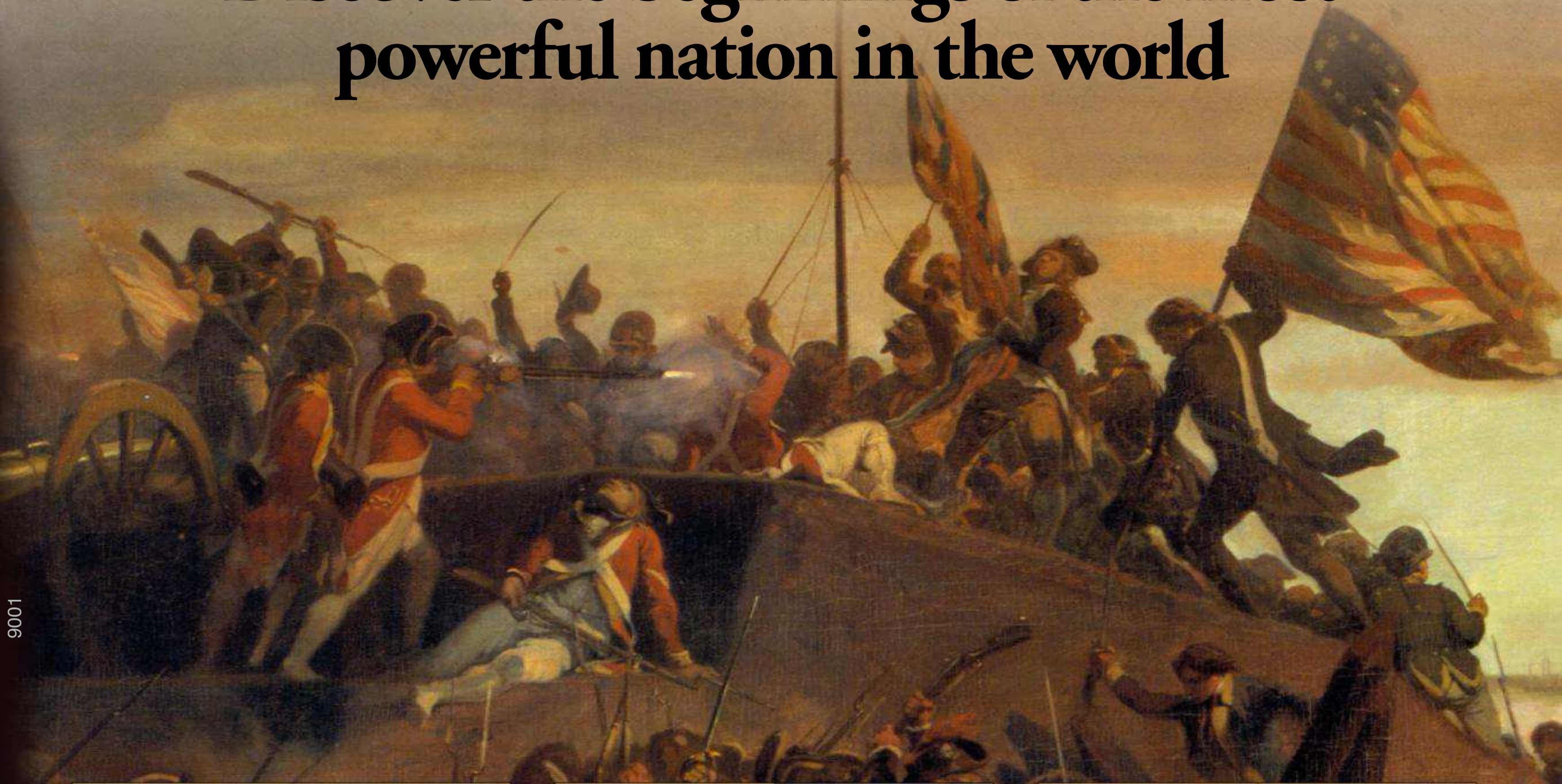
Founding of the UNITED STATES

★ 1763 - present ★

Discover the beginnings of the most powerful nation in the world



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1764-1768

BUILDING A NATION

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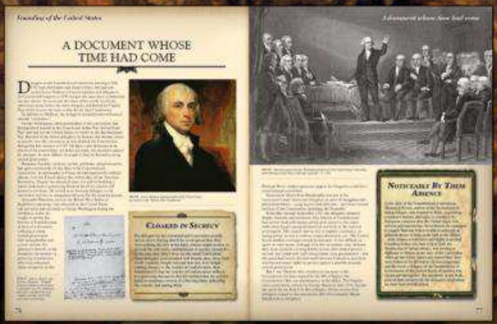

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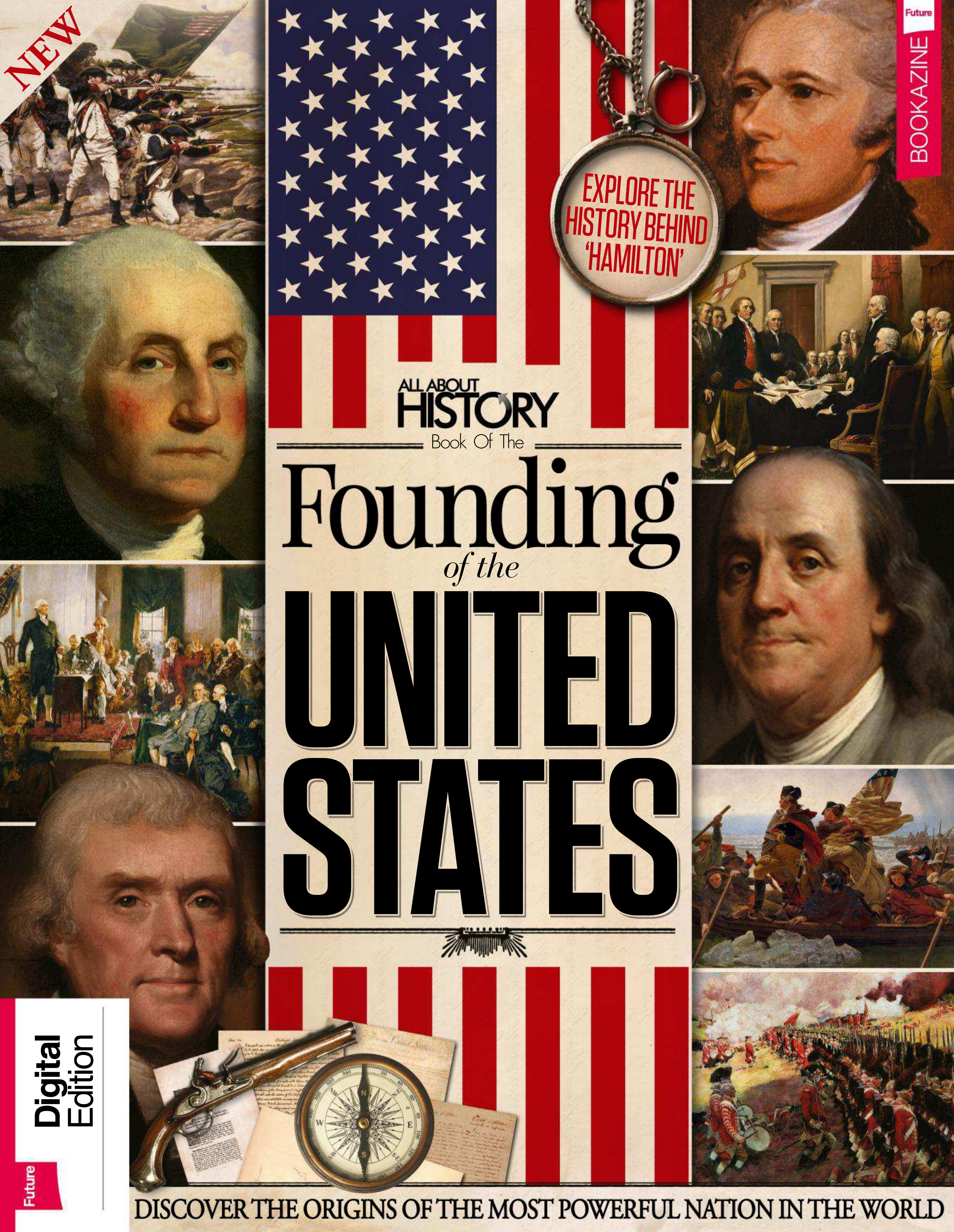

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DISCOVER THE ORIGINS OF THE MOST POWERFUL NATION IN THE WORLD

Founding *of the* UNITED STATES

George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin are names known around the world for their part in founding what is arguably the world's most powerful nation. Despite its relatively short history, the U.S. has seen diverse change, from its inception as a colony of the British Crown, through revolution and a turbulent social history. Here, we take a look at how those changes happened, from the 18th Century wars that began the revolution and led to America's independence, to the events that led to the creation of the U.S. Constitution. This landmark document, upon which modern American law is built, is examined here, including a look at the original document itself, the numerous amendments that ensure it remains relevant, and in-depth analysis of the huge part it has played in the most memorable parts of American history.

Founding of the UNITED STATES

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All About History Book of the Founding of the United States
Fourth Edition
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bookazine series

A
Map of
LEWIS AND CLARK'S
Acroſs the Western
North Ame
From the
MISSISSIPPI TO THE PA
By Order of the
of the
UNITED
in 1804
Copied by Samuel
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PACIFIC OCEAN
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Chinnook 400 Souls
Cathlamah 300 Souls
Wahkiakume
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Multnomah
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DEATH to counterfeit.
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CHARLES-TOWN
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A LIST of the Names of the PROVINCIALS who were Killed and Wounded in the late Engagement with His Majeſty's Troops at *Concord*, &c.

KILLED.

Of *Lexington*.

- * Mr. Robert Munroe,
- * Mr. Jonas Parker,
- * Mr. Samuel Hadley,
- * Mr. Jona^n Harrington,
- * Mr. Caleb Harrington,
- * Mr. Iſaac Muzzy,
- * Mr. John Brown,
- Mr. John Raymond
- Mr. Nathaniel Wyman,
- Mr. Jedediah Munroe.

Of *Menotomy*.

Mr. Jaſon Ruſſel.
Mr. Jabez Wyman,
Mr. Jaſon Winſhip,

Of *Sudbury*.

Deacon Haynes,
Mr. —— Reed.

Of *Concord*.

Mr. James Miles.

Of *Bedford*.

Capt. Jonathan Willſon.

Of *Acton*.

Capt. Davis,
Mr. —— Hoſmer,
Mr. James Howard.

Of *Woburn*.

* Mr. Azael Porter,
Mr. Daniel Thompſon.

Of *Charleſtown*.

Mr. James Miller,
Capt. William Barber's Son.

Of *Brookline*.

Iſaac Gardner, Eſq;

Of *Cambridge*.

Mr. John Hicks,
Mr. Moſes Richardſon
Mr. William Maſſey

Of *Medford*.

Mr. Henry Put

Of L

Mr. Abedn
Mr. Daniel
Mr. Will
Mr. Th

Thoſe diſtin

Of *Danvers*.

Mr. Henry Jacobs,
Mr. Samuel Cook,
Mr. Ebenezer Goldthwait,
Mr. George Southwick,
Mr. Benjamin Daland, jun.
Mr. Jotham Webb,
Mr. Perley Putnam.

Of *Salem*.

Mr. Benjamin Peirce.

WOUNDED.

Of *Lexington*.

Mr. John Robbins,
Mr. John Tidd,
Mr. Solomon Peirce,
Mr. Thomas Winſhip,
Mr. Nathaniel Farmer,
Mr. Joſeph Comee,
Mr. Ebenezer Munroe,
Mr. Francis Brown,
Prince Eaſterbrooks,
(A Negro Man.

Of *Framingham*.

Mr. —— Hemenway

Of *Bedford*.

Mr. John L

Of

Mr. Ge
Mr. J

Mr

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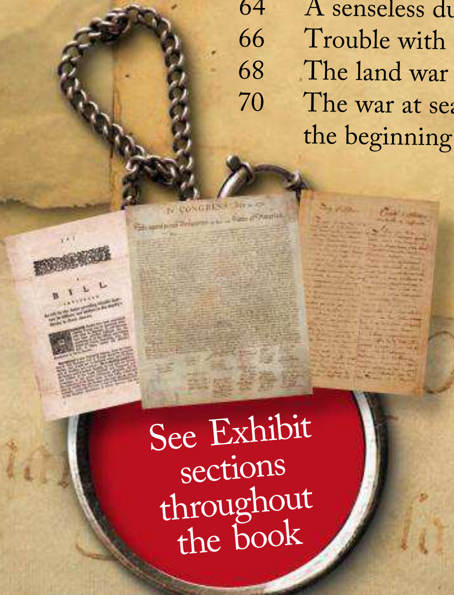
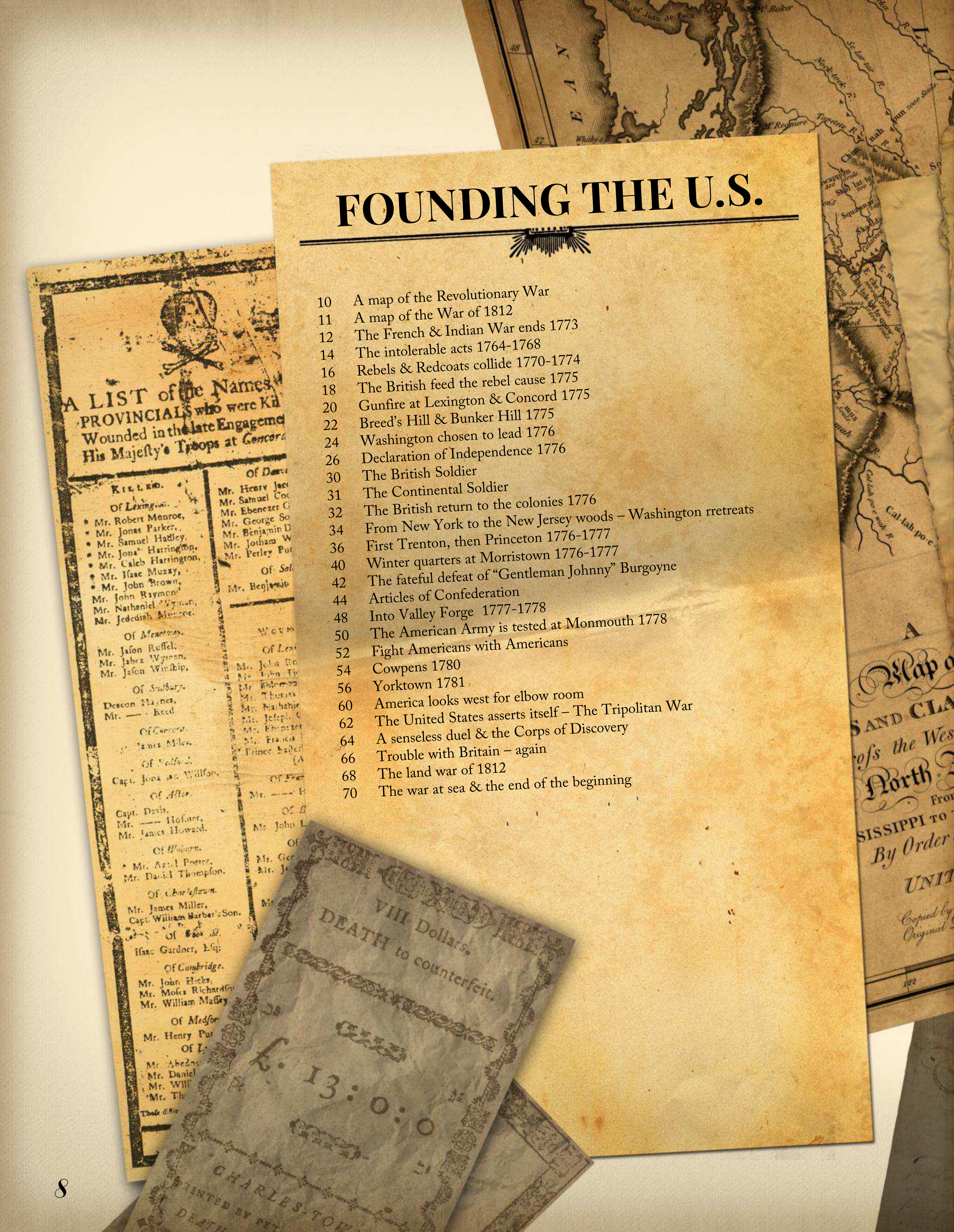


See Exhibit sections throughout the book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INTRODUCTION

The United States of America was wrenched from the core of the 18th Century—the "Age of Enlightenment." The journey began quietly with the scratching of a quill pen and then was thrust home at the point of a bayonet. Guttering candles at writing desks bloomed into torches leading ragged troops across frozen fields in the dead of night. The scholarly treatises of John Locke and the admonitions of Jean-Jacques Rousseau were replaced with hurriedly scribbled marching orders, the simple words in soldiers' diaries, and carefully penned documents of conscience and moral principle.

The route to independence began in 1763 at the end of the French and Indian War. Britain was triumphant, but financially crippled and exhausted by the global Seven Years War. Their North American Colonies were a rich market for British exports and virgin ground for new taxes and duties to pay war debts. A vocal group of colonial representatives saw these taxes, these "intolerable acts" levied without colonial representation in Parliament, as grounds for separation from the mother country. A little more than a third of the colonists claimed they no longer wanted or needed Britain's so-called "protection." The line had been drawn and crossed. In April, 1775, a rattle of musketry at Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts announced the start of America's Revolutionary War.

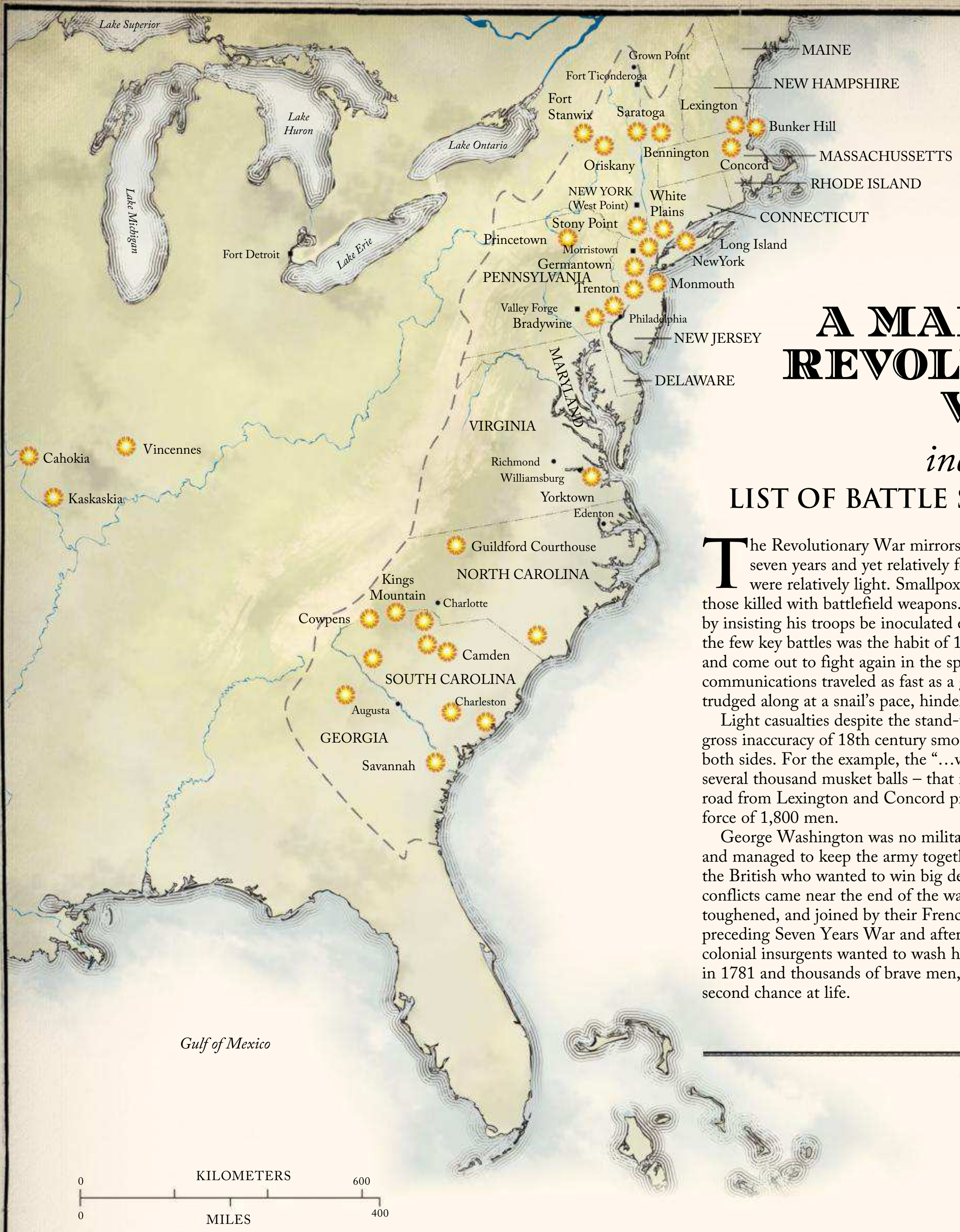
This conflict wasn't just Americans against the British. It was also Americans against Americans. The Revolutionary War was as much a civil war as it was a battle for independence. A considerable portion of the population was loyal to the British Crown. Those Loyalists who didn't flee to Canada or Britain stayed and fought the rebels. Many of the Loyalist–Rebel battles were the most savage of the war with little quarter given.

The Revolutionary War lasted seven bloody years. With the help of France, the Americans won their independence in 1781. With that victory, the colonies had to create a new government to replace the loose collection of states joined by the wartime Articles of Confederation. They fashioned a constitution in 1787 and General George Washington, who had led the Continental Army, was elected the first President of the new independent United States of America in 1789.

In 1803, President Thomas Jefferson seized the opportunity to double the size of the country, buying 50 million acres of land from Napoleon Bonaparte. Jefferson then sent Meriwether Lewis and William Clark with their "Corps of Discovery" to explore this new Louisiana Purchase. The success of their three-year expedition drew Americans westward.

In the Mediterranean Sea, the American merchant fleet had been plundered by the Barbary Pirates of North Africa and its ships held for ransom. A handful of frigates and the United States Marines lashed back and were victorious on the shores of Tripoli. No sooner had the United States established its rights to sail the seas unmolested than they crossed swords with Britain again for pressing American sailors into the Royal Navy and confiscating "contraband" bound for France. The United States declared war in 1812. The British burned Washington and only our navy at sea and on the Great Lakes kept us from total humiliation. The Treaty of Ghent stopped the sorry affair in 1814. The most significant victory, the Battle of New Orleans, was fought two weeks after the treaty was signed. After 52 years of striving, the United States of America had been well and truly founded.

Documenting those decades of history and gathering the images and significant memorabilia has been both humbling and uplifting. As with our other history books, we visited many of the sites; held diaries and documents written by our 18th and 19th Century forebears and stood on the ground where brave men fought and died. We shouldered flintlock muskets that once fired buck-and-ball. So many archivists, curators and scholars helped us with our work; the result is a shared experience of the Founding of the United States of America.


Lake Superior
Lake Huron
Lake Michigan
Lake Ontario
Lake Erie
Fort Detroit
Grown Point
Fort Ticonderoga
Fort Stanwix
Saratoga
Oriskany
Bennington
Lexington
Bunker Hill
Concord
MAINE
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MASSACHUSSETTS
RHODE ISLAND
CONNECTICUT
NEW YORK (West Point)
White Plains
Stony Point
Princetown
Morristown
Long Island
NewYork
Germantown
PENNSYLVANIA
Trenton
Monmouth
Valley Forge
Bradywine
Philadelphia
NEW JERSEY
DELAWARE
MARYLAND
VIRGINIA
Cahokia
Vincennes
Kaskaskia
Richmond
Williamsburg
Yorktown
Edenton
Guildford Courthouse
NORTH CAROLINA
Kings Mountain
Charlotte
Cowpens
Camden
SOUTH CAROLINA
Charleston
Augusta
GEORGIA
Savannah
Gulf of Mexico
KILOMETERS
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A MAP OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

including a

LIST OF BATTLE SITES AND CASUALTIES

The Revolutionary War mirrors the societies that waged the conflict. It lasted seven years and yet relatively few key battles were fought and casualties were relatively light. Smallpox and infections killed more combatants than those killed with battlefield weapons. Washington very likely saved the revolution by insisting his troops be inoculated early on in the conflict. Another reason for the few key battles was the habit of 18th century armies to go into winter quarters and come out to fight again in the spring. Roads were terrible or non-existent and communications traveled as fast as a galloping horse. Armies and their baggage trudged along at a snail's pace, hindered by the bad quality of shoes and boots.

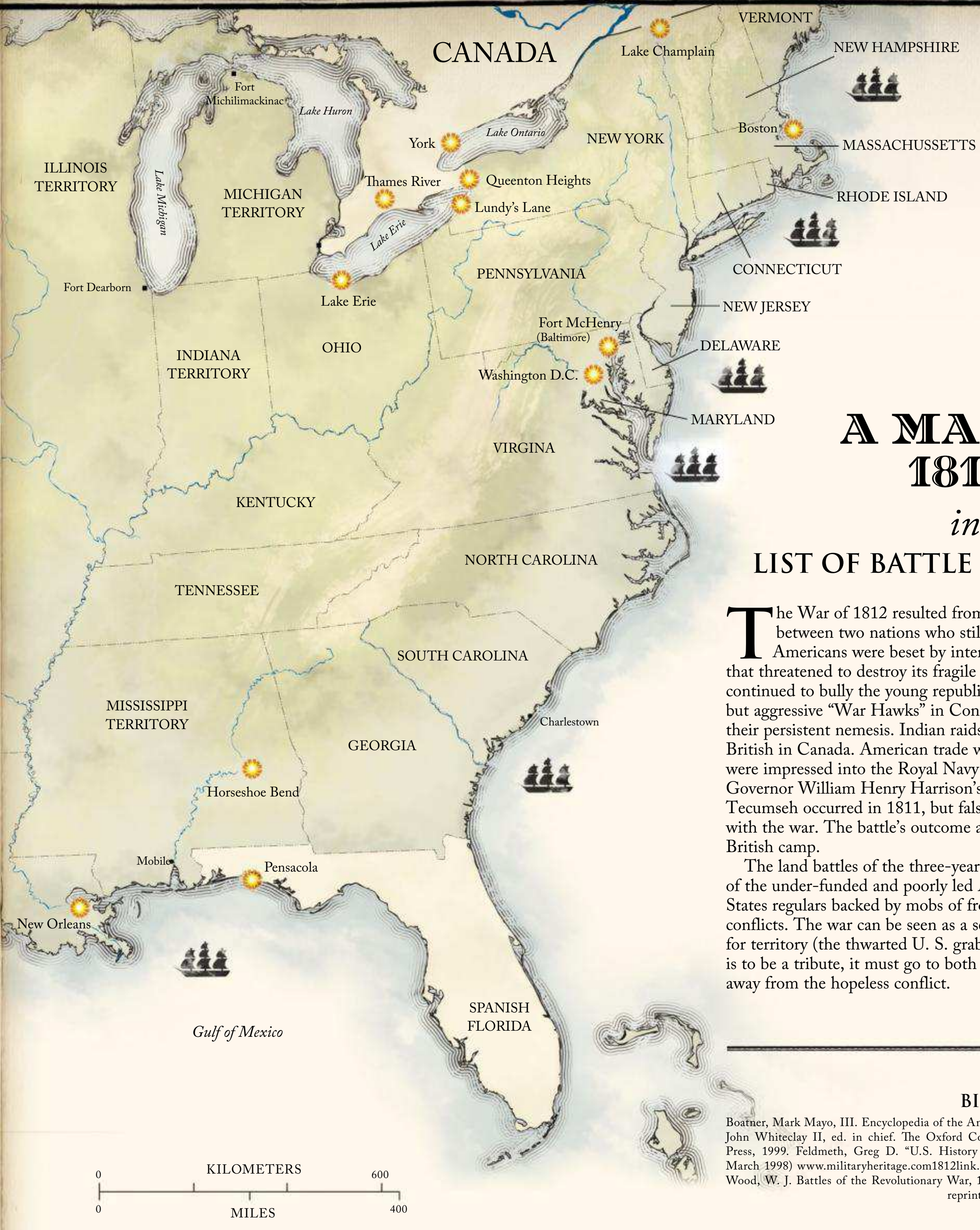
Light casualties despite the stand-up methods of mass firepower also reveal the gross inaccuracy of 18th century smooth-bore muskets and poor marksmanship on both sides. For the example, the "…veritable furnass…" of flanking musket fire – several thousand musket balls – that rained upon the British retreating down a narrow road from Lexington and Concord produced only 269 killed and wounded from a force of 1,800 men.

George Washington was no military genius, but he learned from his mistakes and managed to keep the army together as he retreated, feinted, and confounded the British who wanted to win big decisive set-piece battles. By the time those big conflicts came near the end of the war, the American army had been trained, blooded, toughened, and joined by their French ally. Britain had been exhausted by the preceding Seven Years War and after seven more years of fighting in the woods with colonial insurgents wanted to wash her hands of the whole business. The war ended in 1781 and thousands of brave men, American, British, French, and German, had a second chance at life.

POPULATION: 3.5 million. ENROLLED SOLDIERS: 200,000. PERCENTAGE: 5.7%

Total U.S. Combat Casualties (killed and wounded): 10,623
Total U.S. Non-Combat Deaths (disease, accident): 18,500
Total German (Hessian) Combat Deaths: 1,200
No reliable statistics for total British casualties

Lexington-Concord	April 19, 1775	British 269 American 90
Bunker/Breed's Hill	June 17, 1775	British 1,150 American 450
Quebec	Dec. 31, 1775	British/Canadian 20 American 500
White Plains	Oct. 28, 1776	British 313 American 300
Long Island	Aug 27, 1776	British 400 American 2,000
Trenton	Dec. 26, 1776	Hessian 974 American 4
Princeton	Jan. 7, 1777	British 98 American 41
Brandywine	Sept 11, 1777	British 550 American 1,000
Fort Stanwix	August 3, 1777	British 150 American 150
Saratoga (3 battles)	Sept 19 – Oct 17, 1777	British 3,500 American 500
Germantown	Oct 4, 1777	British 500 American 1,000
Monmouth	June 28, 1778	British 350 American 300
Augusta (Kettle Creek)	Feb 14, 1779	British 140 American 32
Vincennes & Kaskaskia	Feb 23, 1779	British 2 American 0
Savannah	Oct. 9, 1779	British 57 American/French 800
Charlestown	May 12, 1780	British 0 American 8
Camden	August 16, 1780	British 324 American 1,000
Kings Mountain	Oct 7, 1780	Tories 300 American 90
Cowpens	January 17, 1781	British 100 (829 captured) American 72
Guilford Courthouse	March 15, 1781	British 500 American 250
Yorktown	Sept 28 - Oct 19, 1781	British 500 American 80 French 200


CANADA
VERMONT
Lake Champlain
NEW HAMPSHIRE
Fort Michilimackinac
Lake Huron
Lake Ontario
York
NEW YORK
Boston
MASSACHUSSETTS
ILLINOIS TERRITORY
Lake Michigan
MICHIGAN TERRITORY
Thames River
Queenton Heights
Lundy's Lane
Lake Erie
RHODE ISLAND
Fort Dearborn
Lake Erie
PENNSYLVANIA
CONNECTICUT
NEW JERSEY
Fort McHenry (Baltimore)
INDIANA TERRITORY
OHIO
DELAWARE
Washington D.C.
MARYLAND
VIRGINA
KENTUCKY
NORTH CAROLINA
TENNESSEE
SOUTH CAROLINA
MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY
Charlestown
GEORGIA
Horseshoe Bend
Mobile
Pensacola
New Orleans
Gulf of Mexico
SPANISH FLORIDA
KILOMETERS
0
600
0
MILES
400

A MAP OF THE 1812 WAR

including a LIST OF BATTLE SITES AND CASUALTIES

The War of 1812 resulted from pride and suffered insult as much as a duel between two nations who still chafed over a conflict 30 years in the past. The Americans were beset by internal struggle over an economy and social issues that threatened to destroy its fragile framework, and an enemy – Great Britain – that continued to bully the young republic. The United States was unprepared for war, but aggressive "War Hawks" in Congress demanded battlefield satisfaction from their persistent nemesis. Indian raids into U. S. territories were encouraged by the British in Canada. American trade was constricted on the high seas and her sailors were impressed into the Royal Navy as it battled Napoleon. Indiana Territorial Governor William Henry Harrison's punishment of the tribal confederation headed by Tecumseh occurred in 1811, but falsely fueled the confidence of Congress to proceed with the war. The battle's outcome also drove the Indian tribes much further into the British camp.

The land battles of the three-year war demonstrated the predictably inept showing of the under-funded and poorly led American army. Only late in the war did United States regulars backed by mobs of frontier-toughened militia tip the balance in key conflicts. The war can be seen as a series of punishing raids rather than strategic grabs for territory (the thwarted U. S. grab for Canadian colonies notwithstanding). If there is to be a tribute, it must go to both countries that showed the courage needed to back away from the hopeless conflict.

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U. S. POPULATION: 7.6 million. ENROLLED SOLDIERS: 286,000. PERCENTAGE: 3.8%

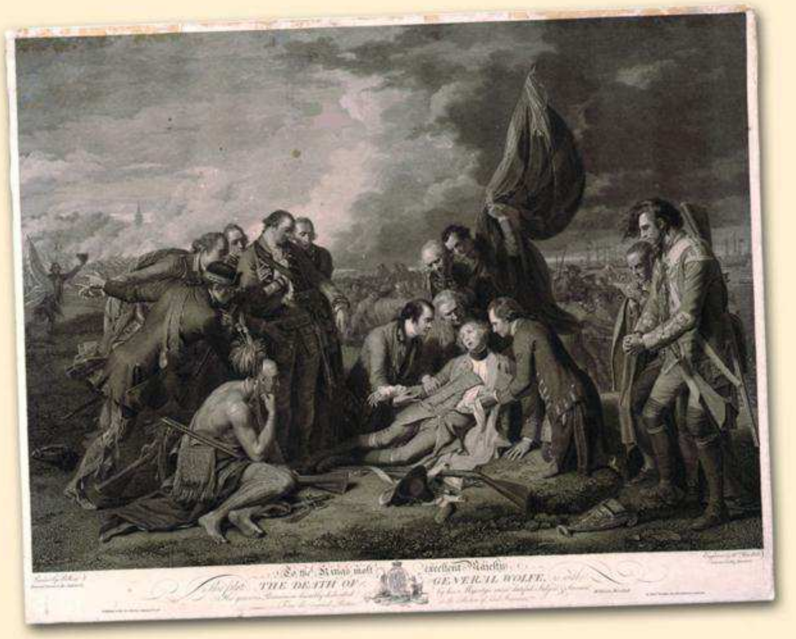
TOTAL U.S. CASUALTIES (and wounded): 6,765
TOTAL BRITISH CASUALTIES (killed and wounded): 5,000

TIPPICANOE	Nov. 7, 1811	Tecumseh Confederacy 120 Militia 188
MICHILIMACKINAC (FORT MACKINAC)	July 17, 1812	British 0 American 60
FORT DETROIT	Aug 8, 1812	British/Indian ? American 2,200
FORT DEARBORN	August 15, 1812	Indian ? American 80 of 93
QUEENSTON HEIGHTS	Oct. 13, 1812	British 119 American 900
YORK	April 22, 1813	British 440 American 320
LAKE ERIE	Sept 10, 1813	British 135 American 123
THAMES RIVER	Oct. 5, 1813	British 188 American 45
HORSESHOE BEND	March 27, 1814	Creek/Red Stick Indians 800 American Militia 203
LUNDY'S LANE	July 25, 1814	British 1,000+ American 1,300
WASHINGTON DC	Aug 24, 1814	British 249 American 50
LAKE CHAMPLAIN (PLATTSBURGH)	Sept 6-11, 1814	British 300 American 200
BALTIMORE (FT. MCHENRY)	Sept 12-14, 1814	British 346 American 310
PENSACOLA, FLA	Nov. 7-9, 1814	British/Spanish (negligible) American 15
NEW ORLEANS	Jan. 8, 1815	British 2,036 American 71

THE FRENCH & INDIAN WAR ENDS 1763

By 1761, most of the shooting in the French and Indian War had stopped and Great Britain held dominion over virtually all of what had once belonged to France on the continent of North America. In 1759, General James Wolfe had died on the Plains of Abraham before the fall of Quebec. In 1755, General Edward Braddock had been cut down by Ojibwa and Pottawatomie Indians near the banks of Pennsylvania's Monongahela River. Rank upon rank of Britain's Redcoat infantry had suffered ambush and, worse, capture by the tribes allied with France. Britain had paid in blood for its new empire.

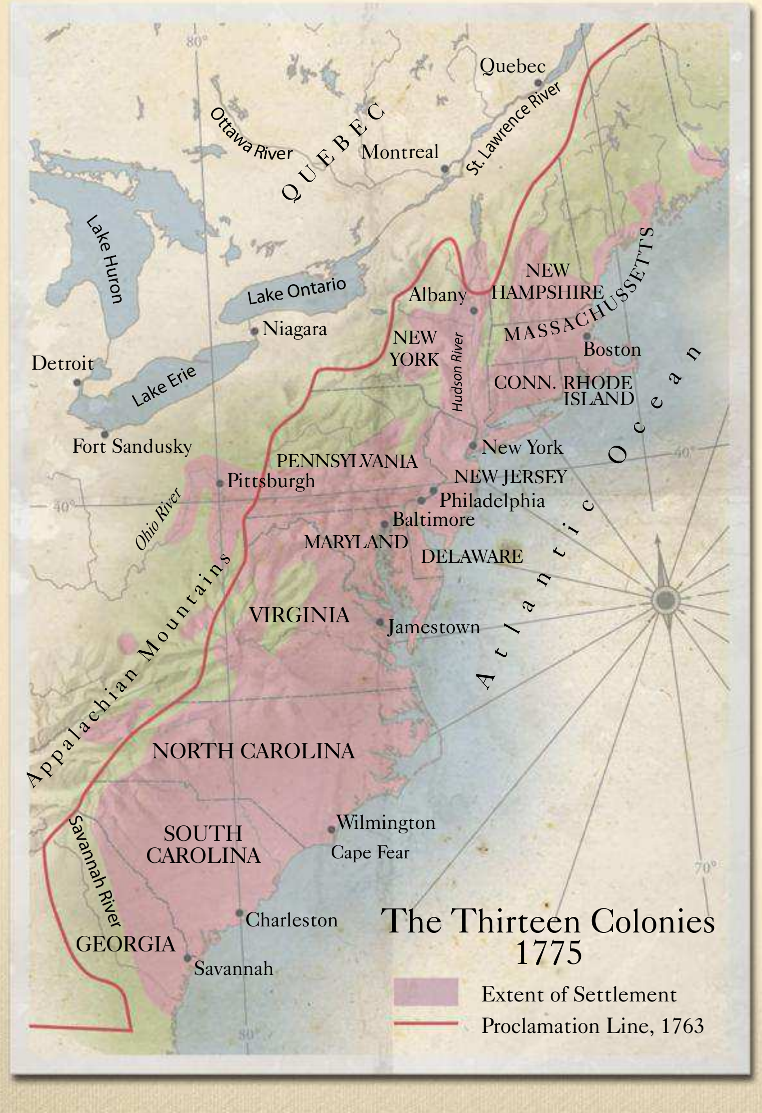
Settlers yanked arrows from their doors; charred log walls were replaced by green lumber; the dead were buried; and colonial militias snaked along forest paths toward farms, shops, and home. Back they went to business as usual as hard-working and loyal subjects of the British Crown. But business, they discovered on their return, was anything but "usual."



ABOVE: *The death of British General James Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham during the siege of Quebec in 1759. Eventually, the British captured Quebec from the French.*

Britain's North American colonies had enjoyed considerable prosperity under the Crown: guaranteed markets for their crops; protection from French, Spanish, and Dutch piracy at sea; and the rule of British law. On the other hand, the balance of trade had been one-sided; more products were imported from the Mother Country than exported there and British investors inclined toward exploitation of their colonial subjects. However, a mutually agreeable peace had been forged. The signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1763 formalized the new Pax Britannica map of North America. In the same year, fearing problems with the Indian tribes and the westward explorations of the colonials, King George III forbade his "loving subjects" from exploring or trading beyond the Appalachian Mountains. Chief Pontiac, head of the Council of Three Tribes (the Ottawa, Pottawatomie, and Ojibwa), was angered over this downturn in their fortunes and began destroying British forts. Citing this savagery, Britain promptly sent 10,000 troops to Boston "for the protection of the colonies."

This force represented the first step by the British Parliament toward dealing with the Indians and establishing garrisons to enforce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Hudson River
Boston
Detroit
Lake Erie
CONN.
RHODE ISLAND
Fort Sandusky
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Baltimore
MARYLAND
DELAWARE
Atlantic Ocean
VIRGINIA
Jamestown
Appalachian Mountains
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
Wilmington
Cape Fear
Savannah River
Charleston
GEORGIA
Savannah
80°
40°
70°
The Thirteen Colonies 1775
Extent of Settlement
Proclamation Line, 1763

LEFT: *The Original 13 colonies following the French and Indian War and the "Proclamation line" drawn by the British beyond which the colonists could not settle. Many ignored the line.*

KING GEORGE III

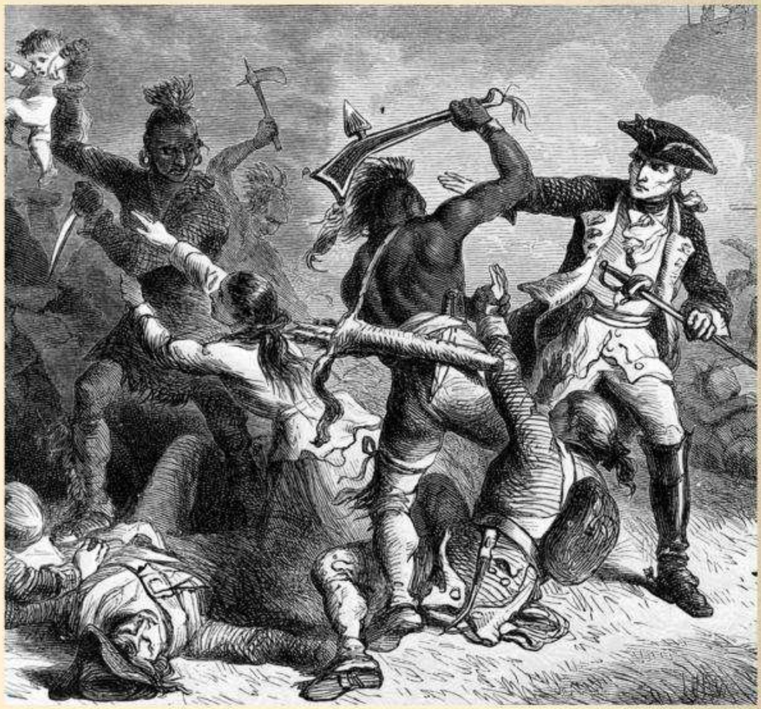
King George III (1738-1820) was the grandson of George II. He only learned to read at the age of eleven. In 1760 he became king, and the next year married Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, a German princess, who would bear him 15 children. He was a devoted family man, enjoyed gardening, and was a voluminous reader. His royal collection of 65,000 books was given to the British Museum. Although his reign did not end until his death in 1820, mental instability, diagnosed today as hereditary porphyria, effectively ended it in 1811, at which point his son, later George IV, became Prince Regent.

the success of future revenue schemes. The colonists would now pay the piper.

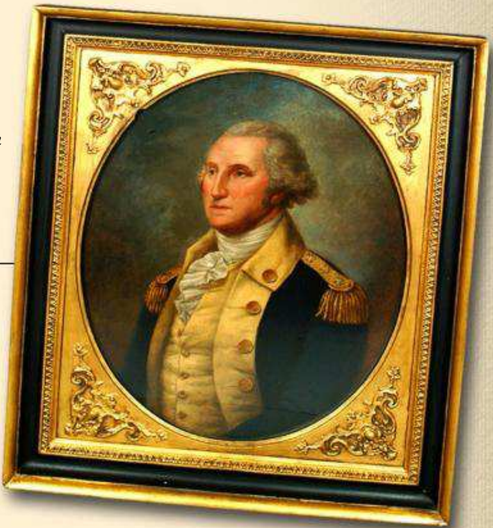
In truth, the British Exchequer was broke. The small nation shouldered a debt of £140 million and the British were heavily taxed just to pay the interest. Parliament began developing ideas focused on the colonies to generate revenue.

This sea change in Great Britain's attitude was not lost on the 13 colonies. Agitators stood up at public meetings or published pamphlets expounding "treasonous" ideas. Crown governors, magistrates, and tax collectors began writing nervous letters back home. Even Southern planters, the profits from whose tobacco crops were cherished by the Mother Country, joined the debate. One colonel of the Virginia militia, who had married into the upper strata of the planter aristocracy, showed growing concern. George Washington was a man of considerable stature in his community both physically – at six foot two inches tall – and as a leader in the field. His leadership had been tested in the war and inexperience had caused him a humiliating surrender. But later, as a volunteer aide-de-camp to General Braddock, he led British survivors from the Monongahela River ambush, and at age 31 he returned to Virginia as a war hero. His guidance would continue to be called upon in the Virginia legislature.

Over the next 14 years, the triumph over France diminished and soured for the colonists. Setting aside deep-rooted parochial differences, Massachusetts men sat with Virginians, and Rhode Islanders conversed openly with South Carolinians. They met in taverns and churches and many began to think of themselves less as subjects of the Crown and more as "Americans."



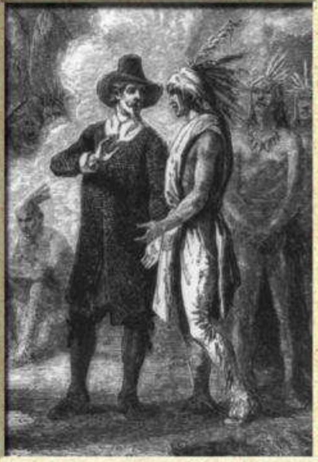
ABOVE: *French General Marquis de Montcalm tries to stop his Indian allies from massacring British soldiers and families at Fort William Henry on the shore Lake George, New York, August 9, 1757.*



RIGHT: *General George Washington: oil on canvas painting by Rembrandt Peale in a gold frame. Washington wore this uniform of his own design throughout the French and Indian War.*

PONTIAC NEGOTIATES

The Ottawa Indians had no "chief," but Pontiac (Obwandiyag) became their leader through the strength of his personality. He led "Pontiac's Rebellion" against the British at Fort Detroit in 1763. Though defeated, he became an Indian spokesman and negotiated with the British. His recognition as a leader caused him to assume that authority and soon many tribes revolted against him. He was murdered on April 20, 1769, by an Indian of the Peoria Tribe.

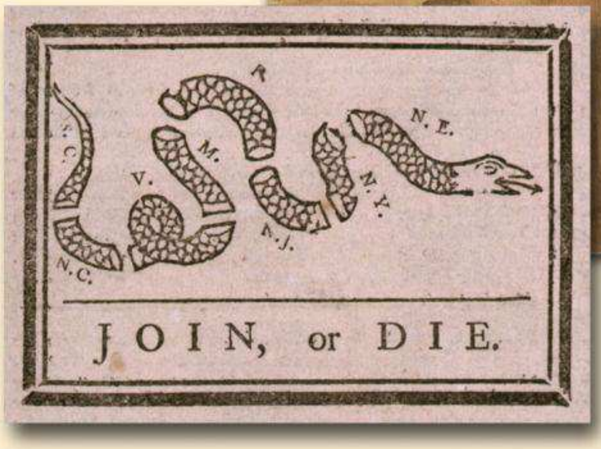


THE INTOLERABLE ACTS
1764-1768

The Seven Years' War (1756-63) and the French and Indian War had achieved the desired end for Britain – expansion of its empire at the expense of France and Spain. A generation of Europeans had been slaughtered on the battlefield. To meet their debts, the British government needed to wring revenue from their subjects. From a casual state of "salutary neglect," the North American Colonies had to be brought to heel, or at least closer to parity in taxation with the British.

In 1764, George Grenville, Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer, pushed through the American Revenue Act – also called the Sugar Act. It reduced tax on foreign molasses coming into the colonies. However, it also added taxes on refined sugar, coffee, Spanish wine, and non-British textiles. In addition, a vice-admiralty court was established in Halifax, Nova Scotia, with jurisdiction over most of North America. The principle of trial by one's peers was threatened. Grenville's measures also included a Currency Act that forbade the printing of money by the colonies, and so, by devaluing colonial paper, favored British creditors over colonial debtors.

ABOVE: *Stamps issued under the 1765 Stamp Act. Those who paid the tax on their newspaper or legal documents received an offical stamp, raising £60,000 a year to pay the crown's war debt. The imposition of the tax inflamed the colonies more than the cost.*



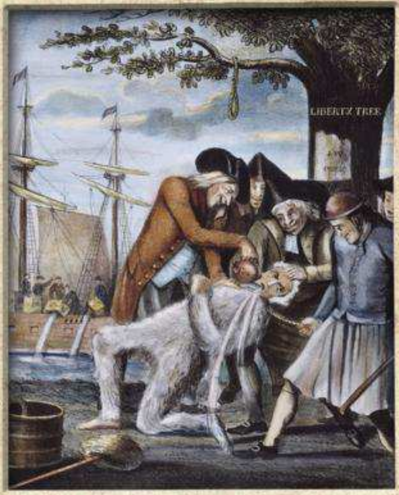
ABOVE: *This cartoon originally appeared in Benjamin Franklin's Gazette in 1754. It suggested that only by joining together would the united colonies survive.*

The imposition of new taxes eventually caused some of the merchants in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston to create non-importation agreements that halted new orders of many British luxury goods. But the decree that brought all the colonists – including the Friends of Government – to their feet was the Stamp Act of 1765.

This tax – named for the stamp which the act required be affixed to items taxed under its regulations – extended to newspapers, legal documents, business papers, almanacs, pamphlets, and even playing cards and dice. And it had to be paid in hard-to-find gold or silver British pounds sterling. By adding an estimated £60,000 in revenue from this act to the £45,000 gathered by the Sugar Act, the Crown expected to raise about one-third of the money needed to maintain troops and an army of civil servants in the American colonies. This all made perfect sense to Parliament, but a great hue and cry arose that filled colonial pamphlets and newspapers. Gangs of young toughs were organized, calling themselves the Sons of Liberty. Violence became rampant against government appointees, stamp-masters,

TARRING AND FEATHERING TAX COLLECTORS

Tarring and feathering became a uniquely American method of intimidating undesirable persons and making a statement against unwanted laws. Hot tar swabbed on the bare skin raised painful blisters. Feathers were added for further humiliating effect. Removal of the tar pulled out hairs, and turpentine used to soften the tar seared the blisters. Crown tax collectors became the chief targets. Passage of the Townshend Acts and the Tea Act resulted in the death of several tax collectors and Tory (British Loyalist) sympathizers.



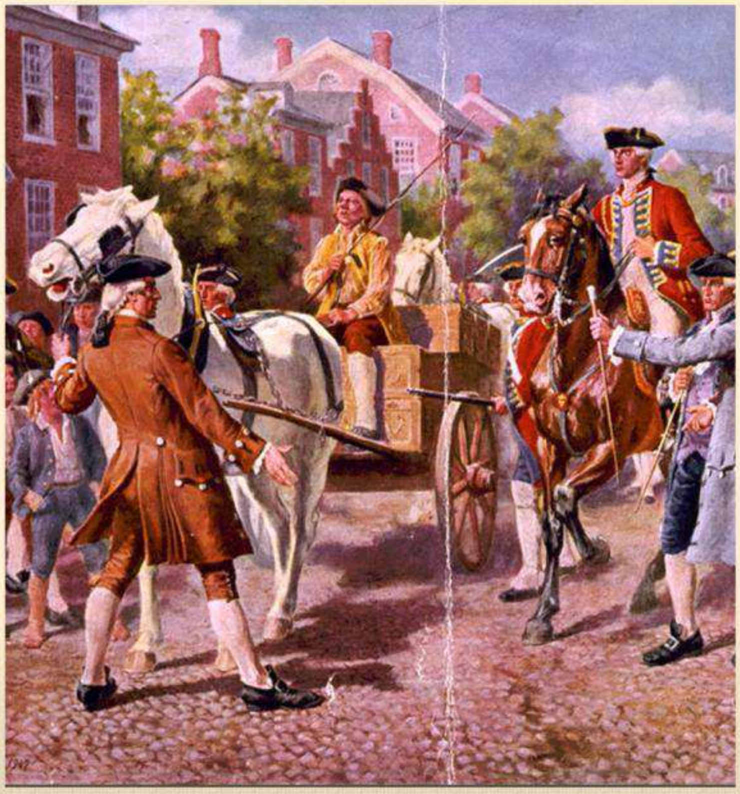
and tax-collectors in Boston and New York, and escalated. To create a united opposition front, the province of Massachusetts proposed a Stamp Act Congress. Twenty-six delegates from nine of the 13 colonies showed up in New York. The Royal Governors of Virginia, Georgia, and North Carolina refused to allow the election of delegates. New Hampshire declined the invitation.

As royal tax-collectors resigned their commissions and packed their bags, the overwhelming non-importation opposition led English merchants to argue for the repeal of the Stamp Act. However, Great Britain asserted its right to tax when and where it wished and pressed the argument that the colonies were "virtually represented" in Parliament just as well as some English Boroughs that did not elect members. This obdurate stance was reinforced by the Townshend Acts. Levies were made on glass, paint, paper, lead, and tea.

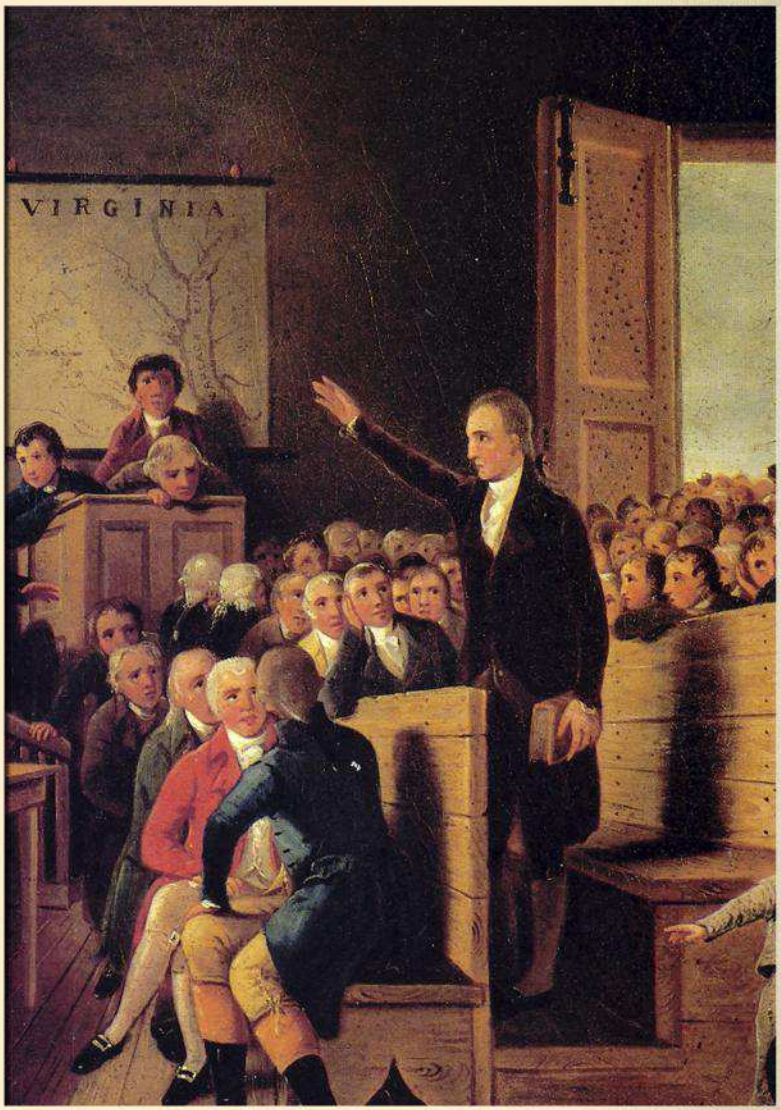
Once again, taxation without representation was the colonial battle cry. This time, however, many American towns not only drew up non-importation agreements, but also began encouraging local manufacturing of specified goods. Self-sufficiency was another step toward self-government.

Finally, in 1768, as vandalism and violence accelerated in the coastal towns, two regiments of British Regulars were shipped to Boston. Most previous detachments of troops that had landed had been marched inland to frontier forts, but these 4,000 regulars remained in the city as a garrison force. While loyal Friends of Government nodded approval, other men of means, intellect, and action began to draw together to discuss the path to what would be seen as treason.

BELOW: *Marinus Willet, French-Indian war veteran, prevents the confiscation of firearms by the British on June 6, 1775. The British army came to be seen as an occupying force as rebellion spread throughout the colonies.*



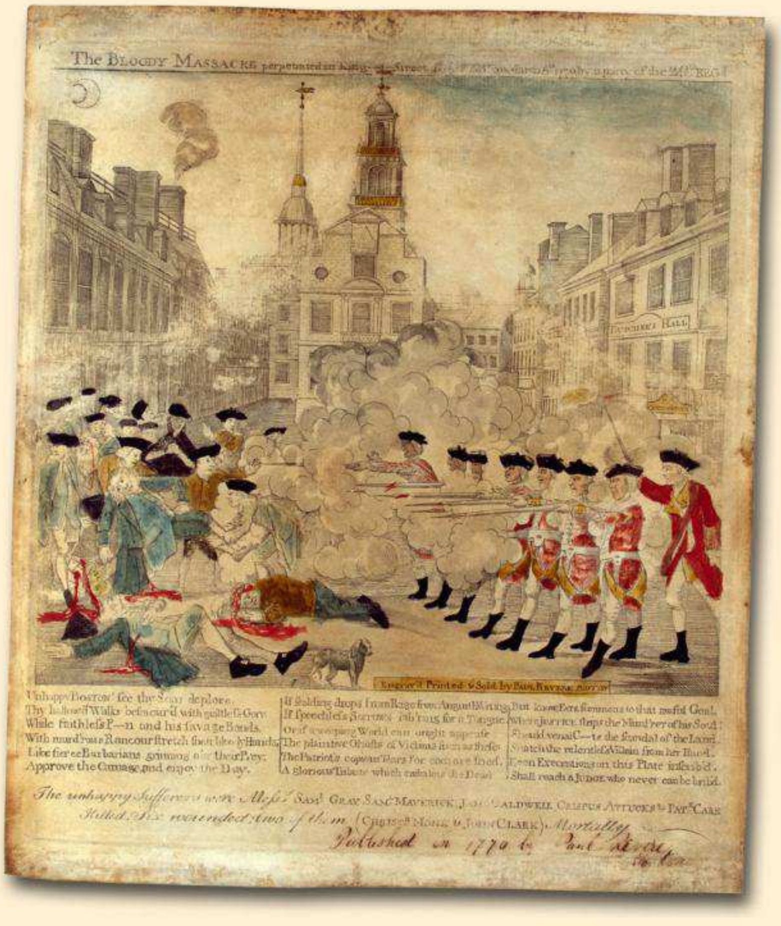
BELOW: *Patrick Henry achieved fame as a politician and orator. Shown here in a Virginia court-house in 1763, his famous appeal "Give me liberty or give me death" was passionately proclaimed in 1775.*



BRITISH SEVEN YEARS' WAR DEBT

Curiously, before 1763, American colonials paid the lowest taxes of any citizens in the western world. Colonial subjects were taxed about one shilling per head per year. In Great Britain, subjects faced taxes of 26 shillings each. A series of wars that began in 1688 were responsible for Great Britain's enormous debt. Between 1756 and 1763 alone, the British national debt doubled to £150 million. This burden required £4 million each year in interest alone. Ordinary Britons staged riots to let Parliament know they would accept no more tax increases.

REBELS & REDCOATS COLLIDE
1770-1774


The Bloody Massacre
Engrav'd Printed & Sold by Paul Revere Boston
Published in 1770 by Paul Revere

ABOVE: *A sketch drawn by Paul Revere based on eyewitness reports of the so-called Boston Massacre. It is an inaccurate depiction, but fueled the rebels' need for action against such British "atrocities."*

In Boston, the year 1770 started out beneath a veneer of calm, in contrast to the five turbulent years that had preceded it. Couriers raced from town to village carrying sheaves of the latest patriot broadsides and newspapers. Behind closed doors, the colonists debated whether to stay loyal to the Crown, to join the Rebels, or to stay neutral. And in the light of day, to the relief of those "Friends of Government" who would become "Loyalists," red-coated British soldiers strolled in pairs or marched in squads.

British soldiers were poorly paid and were forced to look for odd jobs in Boston to earn extra money. The city's local toughs and idlers had marked these "King's men" and insulted the job-seeking soldiers, driving them from employers' doors. Soon, bitter soldiers and local agitators roamed the streets seeking each other out. On the cold night of March 5, 1770, jeering Bostonians armed with snowballs set upon a squad of harried and nervous soldiers on King Street. The taunts became slanderous. The crowd pressed closer around the squad. A flint snapped down into its powder pan and a booming shot echoed off the street stonework. A ragged clatter of shots followed and a cloud of powder smoke drifted over five civilian bodies now fallen on the cobblestones.

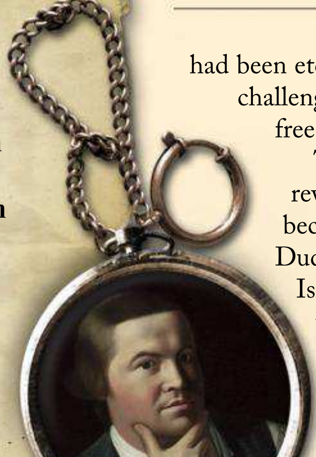
The effects of the event were inflamed by rhetoric from political protester Samuel Adams. Silversmith and rebel propagandist Paul Revere ran off an engraving depicting the event as a brutal slaying of innocent bystanders – the image was circulated on broadsheets throughout the colonies. The soldiers were tried in a civilian court and defended by three colonial lawyers including Samuel Adams' cousin, John Adams. Of the nine British soldiers tried, seven were set free, but the "Boston Massacre," as the incident became known, had been etched into the public consciousness.Two years later, a challenge emerged to the fine old Rhode Island traditions of freedom of the sea, blockade-running, and smuggling.

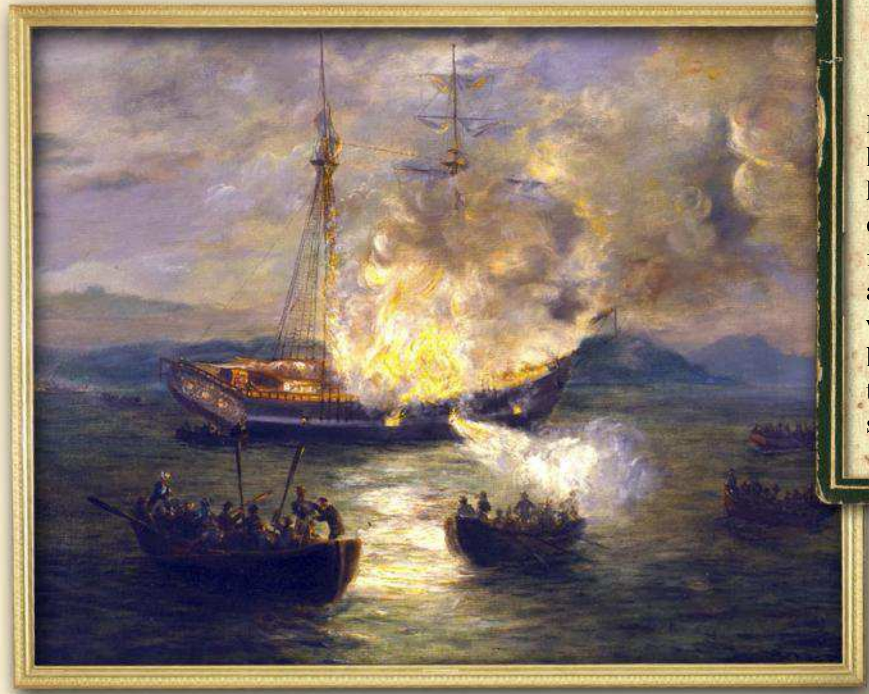
The armed schooner Gaspee, commanded by Crown revenue collector, Lieutenant William Duddingston, became a symbol of the arrogance of British oppression. In Duddingston's eyes all small boat-owners plying the Rhode Island coast were guilty of something. He regularly chased them down, often fired cannon shot across their bows, boarded them, and found reasons to levy fines. The governor of Rhode Island, Joseph Wanton, complained to Admiral Montagu, the commander of the British fleet, yet received nothing but contempt in return.

On June 9, 1772, Captain Benjamin Lindsey set sail from the harbor of Newport in the packet sloop Hannah on a course to Providence, Rhode Island. The

PAUL REVERE
PROPAGANDIST

Paul Revere (1735-1818) learned silversmithing from his father and served as a lieutenant in the army in 1755. He became the premier silver and coppersmith in Boston, but as tensions grew with the British, he joined the Sons of Liberty and the Committees of Correspondence, serving as a frequent messenger on horseback. His political cartoons, engraved in copper for printing, were powerful tools to inflame public opinion. Revere's version of the "Boston Massacre" – though largely inaccurate – became a powerful piece of anti-British propaganda.



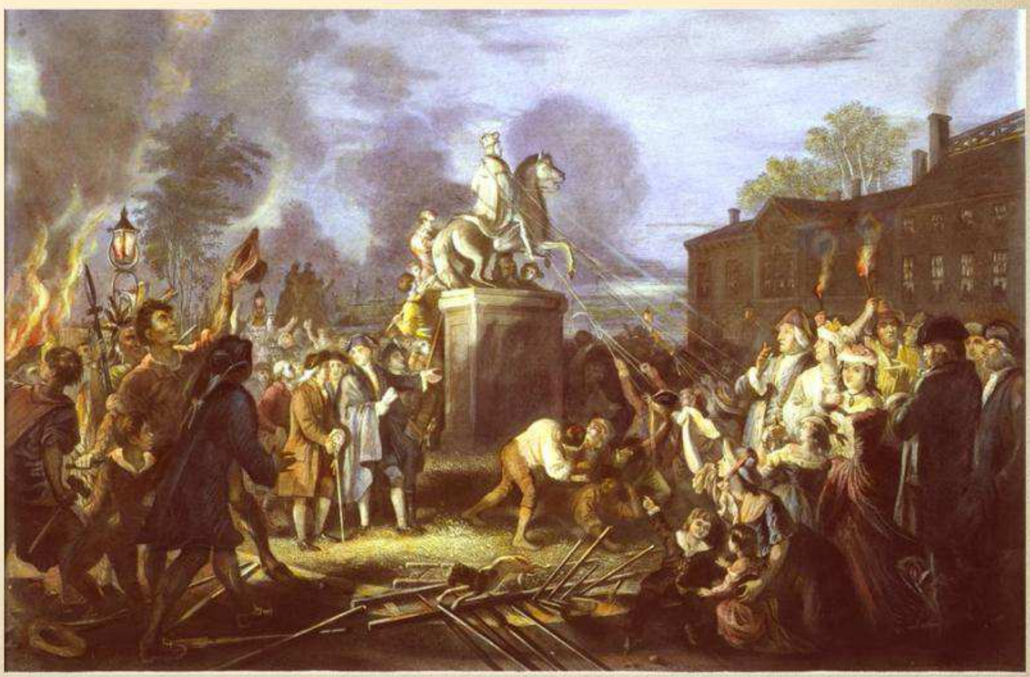


AMERICAN PRIVATEERS

Before Americans had a navy, the Continental Congress had to rely on issuing "letters of marque" – literally licenses to private ship owners to arm their vessels and capture British merchant ships. The colonists licensed 1,697 privateers, sending almost 15,000 guns to sea, and capturing more than 2,000 British ships and their valuable cargos. New England, Maine, and Rhode Island had considerable experience with smuggling by the time the Revolution started and put their law-evading seamanship in the service of their country.

ABOVE: *The Gaspee was a British revenue schooner that pursued colonial smugglers. When it ran aground, Rhode Island colonists captured crew and set it afire on June 9, 1772.*

Gaspee appeared astern and sent a ball from her chaser across Lindsey's bow. The packet swept inshore to round Namquid Point. Duddingston tried to cut off the close-hauled packet. Except for a shoal, he would have made it. The Gaspee struck hard and buried her keel in the sand. Lindsey arrived in Providence at 5.00 p.m. at the house of his friend John Brown, and a call was put out to gather seafaring Rhode Islanders together for an evening's outing. To the rattling tattoo of a drum, a large party of armed men arrived. They shared a glass or two while lead was melted and molded into fresh shot for their muskets and blunderbusses. Captain Abraham Whipple led the boats, their oarlocks muffled, from Fenner's Wharf into the dark. A short time later there was a distant rattle of gunfire, and then the night was lit up by a glow of flames. The boats returned and the Gaspee was no more. Admiral Montagu complained to Governor Wanton, but, apparently, no one ashore had seen anything. Whitehall created a Royal Commission to investigate and



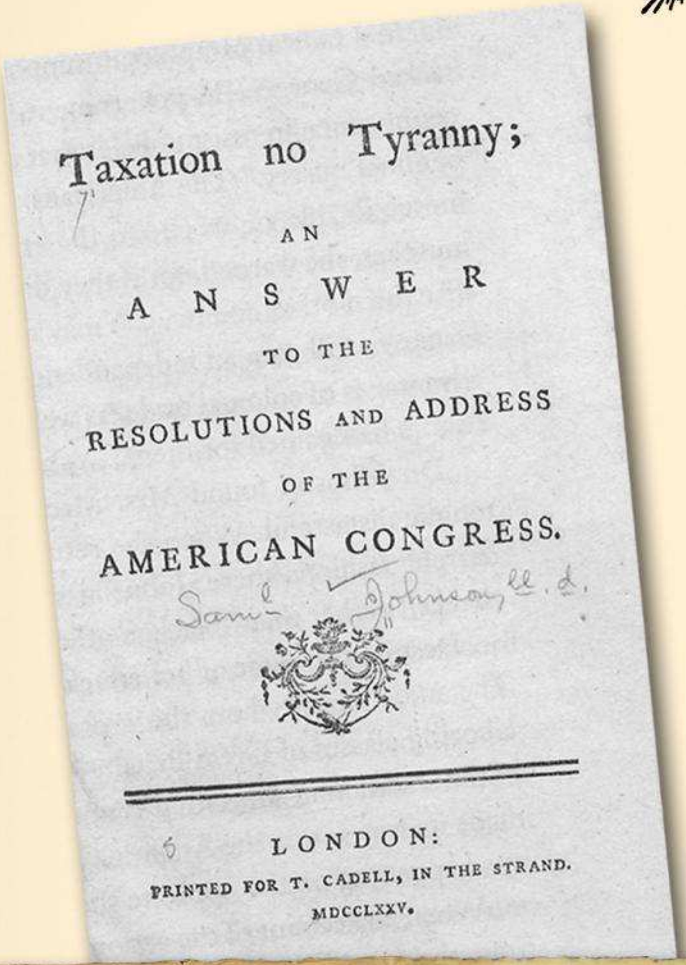
RIGHT: *The "Sons of Liberty" pull down an equestrian statue of George III, as respectable New Yorkers look on. The statue's head was mounted outside a pub and the rest melted down into lead balls for colonial muskets.*

THE BRITISH FEED THE REBEL CAUSE 1775

In the early 1770s, 17 million pounds of tea sat in warehouses owned by the East India Company, which was struggling financially. To keep the venerable old firm from going under, London lawmakers passed the Tea Act in 1773, which specified that this surplus tea be sent only to approved Crown agents in the colonies. It seemed to signal the first of many possible monopolies that might be foisted on colonial merchants by the Crown. For colonists to drink this tainted tea would be a disloyal act against free trade. So, up and down the North American coast, crates of tea splashed into the Atlantic Ocean.

In Boston, that hotbed of radicals, rebellion was transformed into a theatrical production on the night of December 16, 1773. Goaded on by Samuel Adams and merchant John Hancock, a mob of 150 locals, their faces daubed with cork and with feathers in their hair, boarded the tea ships at Griffin's Wharf disguised as "Mohawk Indians", and threw 342 cases of tea worth £9,000 overboard into Boston Harbor. When word reached London in January 1774, Prime Minister Frederick, Lord North, was not amused. He rounded on the colonies with five Coercive Acts designed to put the colonies – and especially Massachusetts – in their place.

The port of Boston was closed until the cost of the spoiled tea was repaid. Massachusetts was virtually placed under direct Crown rule as its charter of 1691 was revoked and town meetings prohibited.



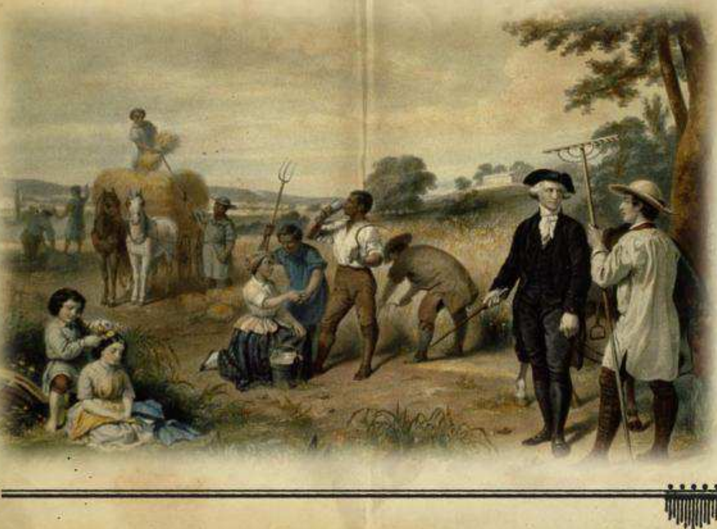
Taxation no Tyranny;

AN
ANSWER
TO THE
RESOLUTIONS AND ADDRESS
OF THE
AMERICAN CONGRESS.

Saml. Johnson, LL.D.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND.
MDCCLXXV.

LEFT: *British Prime Minister, Lord Frederick North, had this pamphlet printed in 1775 to counter the colonies' claim of "taxation without representation." North reaffirmed Britain's right to tax and levy as it saw fit.*

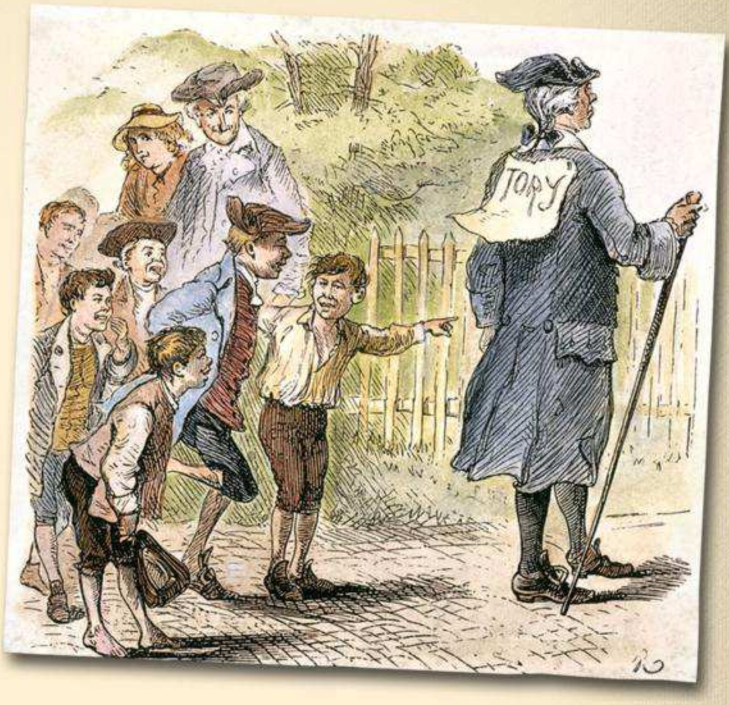


GEORGE WASHINGTON PLANTER & SLAVE OWNER

In 1743, when George Washington was 11 years old, he inherited 10 slaves and 500 acres of land on the death of his father. By the time he was 22, that number had grown to 36, and to this were added 20 slaves by his marriage to Martha Custis in 1759. As the Washingtons' home at Mount Vernon grew, so did the number of men, women, and families needed to operate the plantation. By 1799, when Washington died, 316 slaves lived on his estate.

TEA
THE DRINK OF CHOICE

The American colonists brought their tea drinking habits with them from the Mother Country. Until they were transplanted to the North American shores, how the tea reached them was of no consequence. Since the Dutch had opened the tea trade in 1610, the British-controlled East India Company had a monopoly on English tea trade from China. Tea's caffeine was a pick-me-up and boiling the water to drink it killed bacteria. After the Boston Tea Party, however, many Americans became patriotic coffee drinkers.



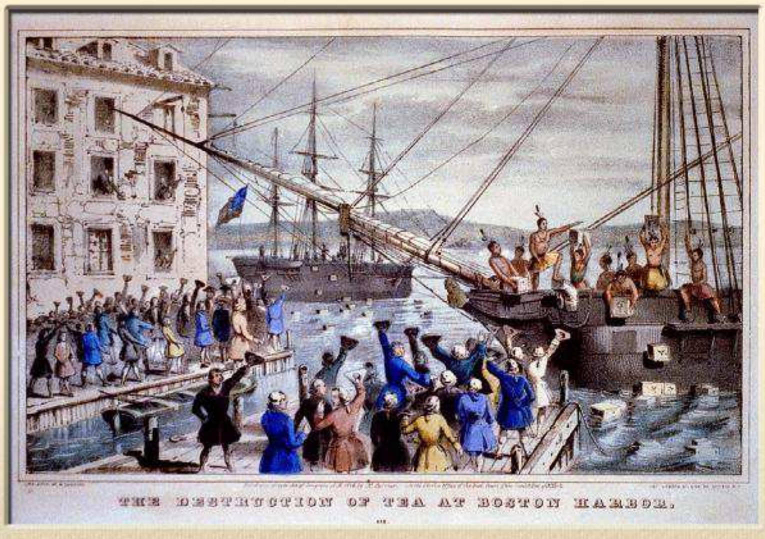
ABOVE: *This group of children has attached a paper sign reading "Tory" to the back of a dignified gentleman. As war drew closer, friends of the British Crown were increasingly harassed by patriots.*

The Quartering Act of 1765 was extended to stationing troops in "quarters other than barracks," such as people's homes. Also, if any British official were to be charged with a capital crime, he would be tried in Britain where he could find an acquittal-minded jury. The final straw was the Quebec Act – not part of the "Coercive Acts" but passed at the same time. This granted financial relief and religious freedom to Roman Catholics in addition to expanding the Canadian border southward to the rich Ohio Valley – land long coveted by Virginia. That slap in the face brought George Mason, Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, and George Washington into the New England radical camp.

With the Coercive Acts rolling off colonial presses in May 1774, dozen of riders, including Paul Revere, saddled up and pounded through the countryside as far south as Philadelphia, warning of Boston's impending blockade and Britain's noxious punishments. Many colonies began to send aid – money, rice, meat on the hoof, and other goods – to the besieged city. Anti-loyalist leaders, who were already outraged, joined together to issue invitations to the colonies to send representatives to what became the First Continental Congress. Fifty-six delegates from 12 colonies – Georgia did not participate – gathered at Philadelphia's Carpenter's Hall on September 5, 1774. Many of those in attendance had never previously strayed beyond the borders of their home colonies.

The delegates began by establishing a one colony – one vote procedure that lasted through Continental Congress deliberations until 1789. Their foresight also determined that Peyton Randolph of Virginia be elected the first president of Congress. This move further wedded the wealthy and populous Virginians to the rebel cause. As the delegates began their work, Paul Revere reined in long enough to drop off a copy of the "Suffolk Resolves," a collection penned by angry Massachusetts men of Suffolk County that included every possible renunciation of British Acts and edicts going back 10 years. The reading of the Resolves brought forth a hurrah and a rush to send it unchanged to London. Conservative delegates softened the final document that was shipped to Parliament, but 56 colonists had stood together in congress and sent an irreversible message of defiance.

> *"LET FREEMEN BE REPRESENTED BY NUMBERS ALONE. THE DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN VIRGINIANS, PENNSYLVANIANS, NEW YORKERS, NEW ENGLANDERS ARE NO MORE. I AM NOT A VIRGINIAN, BUT AN AMERICAN!"*
>
> Patrick Henry
> First Continental Congress, 1774


THE DESTRUCTION OF TEA AT BOSTON HARBOR.

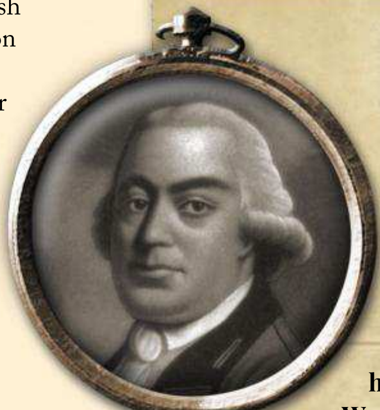
LEFT: *Dressed as Mohawk Indians, a group of the Sons of Liberty boarded an English ship and dumped 342 chests of tea into Boston Harbor – a protest against the tea tax.*

GUNFIRE AT LEXINGTON & CONCORD 1775

On the night of April 18, 1775, Paul Revere was awakened and told that two lanterns burned in the steeple of Boston's Old North Church. This message signaled that British troops were being rowed to Cambridge for a raid on Lexington to capture Samuel Adams and John Hancock, and then on to Concord to seize rebel stores of gunpowder, supplies, and four brass cannon. Revere was taken to a boat and rowed to the Cambridge shore where a saddled horse awaited him. He arrived in Lexington at the parsonage of Reverend Jonas Clarke where Adams and Hancock were staying. A local man acting as a makeshift sentry complained about his shouting. Revere reportedly exclaimed, "Noise! You'll have more noise than this before long. The regulars are coming out!"

William Dawes Jr., a patriot radical from an old Boston family, joined Revere on the road at about 12.30 a.m. and they continued on to Concord. Dr. Samuel Prescott, who had been visiting a friend in Lexington, soon accompanied them in their gallop. All three were suddenly stopped by a British patrol, one of many sent ahead for just that purpose by General Thomas Gage, commander-in-chief of the British army in America. Prescott spurred clear of the trap and Dawes managed to escape a bit later, but Revere was dismounted and held. However, now the word was out, and church bells began tolling on down the road.

Following the three dusty patriots came rank on rank of Britain's best, a picked force of 700 grenadiers and light infantry commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Francis Smith of the 10th Lincolnshires and Major John Pitcairn of the Royal Marines. The soldiers had been roused from their beds after final tattoo, packed into rowboats like sardines, and had slogged through knee-deep water before the long dusty march. These were men in a foul mood. As they marched,

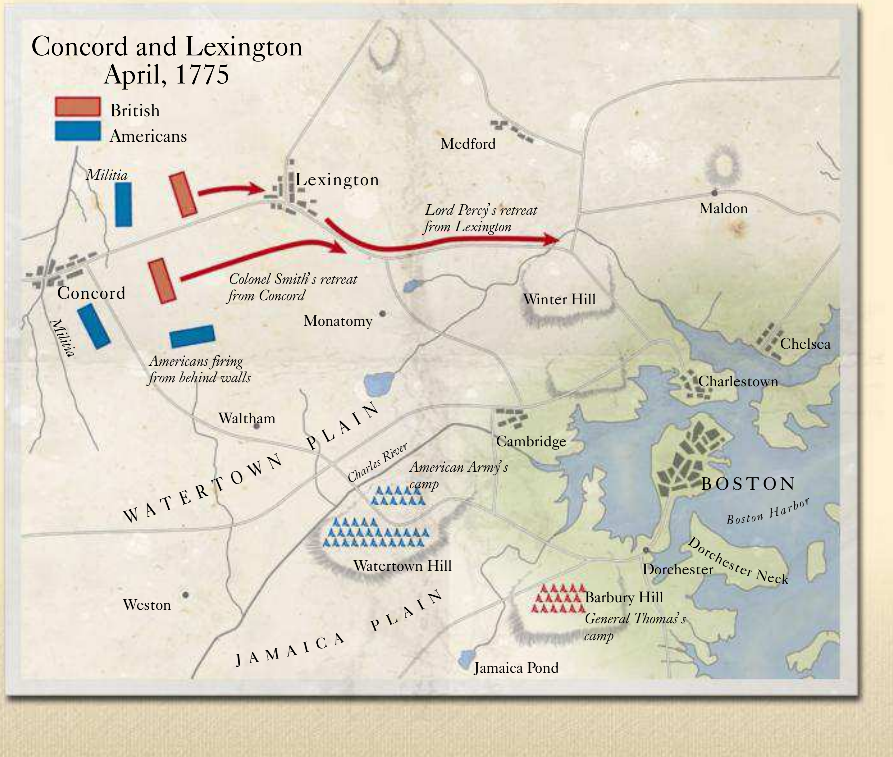


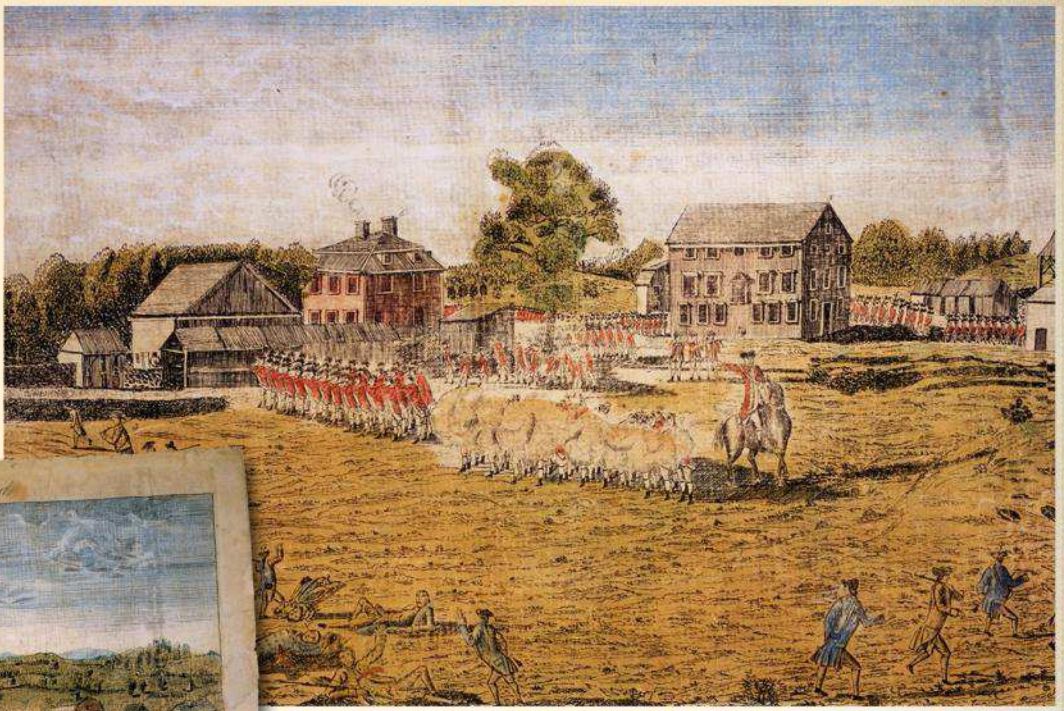
GENERAL THOMAS GAGE

Thomas Gage (1720-1787) was a British general and became governor of Massachusetts in 1774, after Parliament passed the Coercive Acts in retaliation for the 1773 Boston Tea Party. He had fought during the Seven Years' War, and with General Braddock at Montreal. In 1763, he became commander-in-chief of British Forces in North America. On April 17, 1775, Gage was ordered by Parliament to take "vigorous action" against the American rebels. The Lexington–Concord debacle on April 19 eventually forced his removal from command.

> *" WE MUST FIGHT!*
> *IS LIFE SO DEAR, OR PEACE SO SWEET AS TO BE PURCHASED AT THE PRICE OF CHAINS AND SLAVERY? FORBID IT, ALMIGHTY GOD! I KNOW NOT WHAT COURSE OTHERS MAY TAKE, BUT AS FOR ME, GIVE ME LIBERTY OR GIVE ME DEATH!"*
>
> Patrick Henry,
> Virginia Legislature

RIGHT: *This map shows the route from Lexington and Concord that was followed by the British troops. Revere and his companions also followed this route.*


Concord and Lexington
April, 1775
🟥 British
🟦 Americans
Medford
Militia
Lexington
Lord Percy's retreat from Lexington
Maldon
Concord
Colonel Smith's retreat from Concord
Winter Hill
Militia
Monatomy
Chelsea
Americans firing from behind walls
Charlestown
Waltham
Cambridge
Charles River
American Army's camp
BOSTON
WATERTOWN PLAIN
Boston Harbor
Watertown Hill
Dorchester
Dorchester Neck
Weston
Barbury Hill
General Thomas's camp
JAMAICA PLAIN
Jamaica Pond



RIGHT: *This contemporary engraving from a watercolor by Amos Doolittle is a crude but accurate depiction of the brief, one-sided battle fought at Lexington between farmers, shopkeepers, and the British Regulars.*

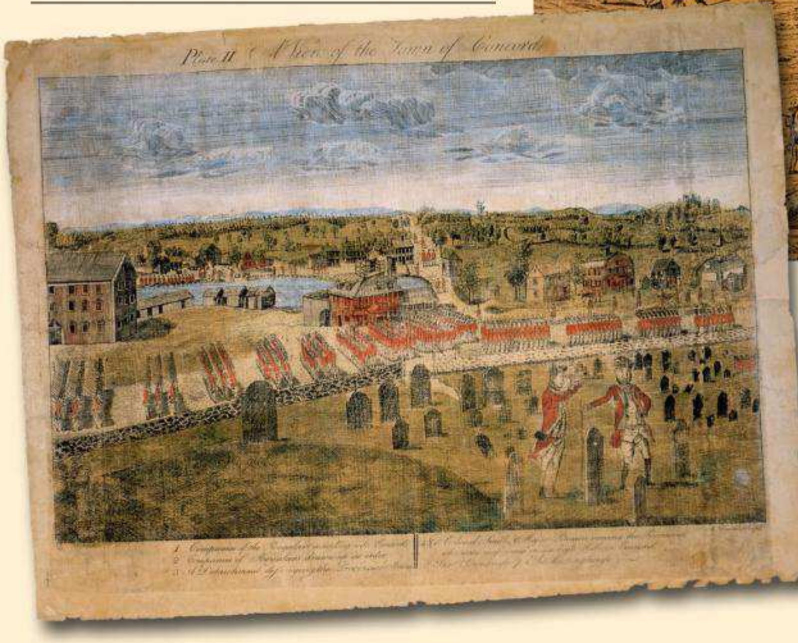


Plate II. A View of the Town of Concord

ABOVE: *Amos Doolittle's painting follows the Redcoats' march through Concord along a road that will be flanked by rebel fire. Major John Pitcairn and Lieutenant Colonel Francis Smith reconnoiter from a hilltop.*

figures could be glimpsed, running on unseen trails through the dense, dark woods.

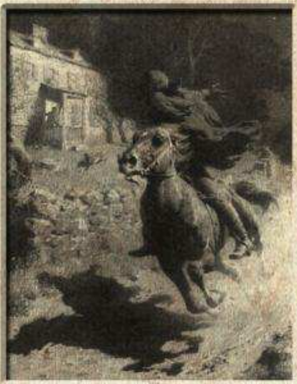
On Lexington Green, Captain John Parker, commander of two companies of 100 local militia – the Minute Men and the Alarm Men – stood with his neighbors dressed in homespun garb, armed with hunting rifles and fowling pieces. In the gray damp of dawn, Major Pitcairn arrived and wheeled the British infantry ranks into line. Shoemaker Sylvanus Wood remembered, “There they halted. The officer then swung his sword and said, ‘Lay down your arms you damned rebels, or you are all dead men!’”

A shot rang out, followed by a high, ragged volley from the regulars. Parker dispersed his men. As they took cover, a second killing volley cut into them. British troops continued their march to Concord past the bodies of eight dead militiamen.

At Concord, the British were met by a larger body of men and fifes and drums across the green of the Muster Field. Volleys of ball and shot licked out. Gusts of gun smoke washed over the village as the militia's ranks swelled from nearby villages and the British retreated. The road back toward Lexington became, as Minute Man Amos Barrett recalled “ … a veritable furnass of musquetry.”

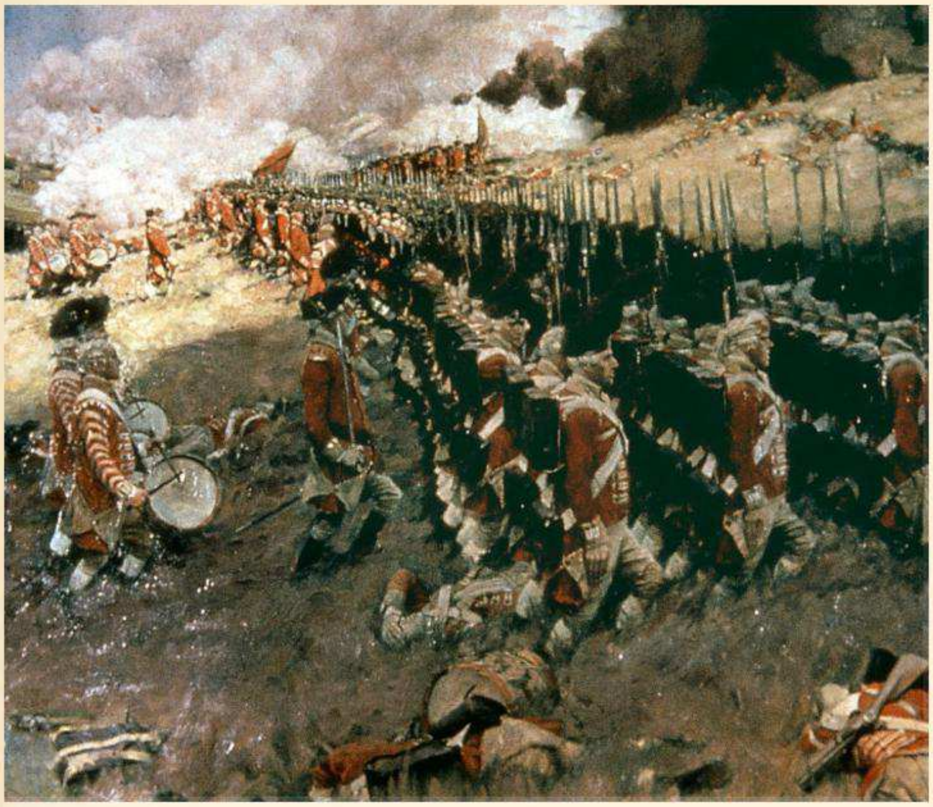
“THE REGULARS ARE OUT. HIDE YOUR CANNON!”

On April 18, 1775, Dr. Joseph Warren asked Paul Revere to ride to Lexington and warn Samuel Adams and John Hancock that British soldiers were coming for them, and that they then planned to march on to Concord to capture hidden military stores, including four brass cannon. Two of those brasscannon were named the “Hancock” and “Adams.” They were used throughout the war, and the “Adams” is at the Bunker Hill memorial today.



That furnace of fire never slackened as frustrated British soldiers burned and plundered homes along the road. The exhausted expedition was relieved at Lexington by a force of over 1,000 troops from the Boston garrison. And still the gunfire continued. In the wake of the retreat, powder-blackened shopkeepers, herdsmen, shoemakers, and farmers leaned on their still-warm weapons. A long, bloody war had just begun.

BREED'S HILL & BUNKER HILL
1775



ABOVE LEFT: *The right flank of the British line advances to the sound of drums, muskets at the ready, eyes front. Ineffective artillery support doomed their early attacks and wasted these brave men.*

Once again, young men on fast horses fanned out from Boston. They carried the word about the "victory" at Lexington and Concord. The King's troops had been fired upon. Newspapers printed the casualty lists of dead and wounded patriots.

Major Generals William Howe, Henry Clinton, and John Burgoyne arrived in Boston on May 25, 1775, to find 6,000 British troops bottled up by a motley collection of untrained bumpkins. The new arrivals implored General Gage to secure the Dorchester Heights above Charlestown, thereby dominating Boston and providing an attack base against the rebels gathering to the south. By June 13, the entire British plan was in rebel hands, and after much debate Artemas Ward, the militia's general, was charged by the Committee of Safety with the defense of Dorchester Heights.

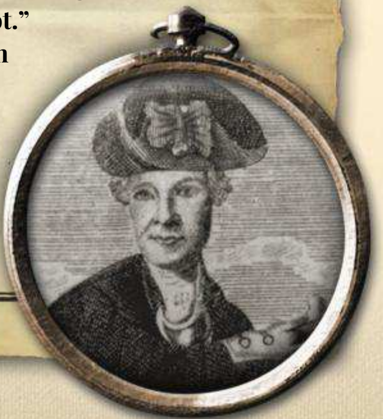
On June 16, Colonel William Prescott paraded his command of 1,200 men from Massachusetts and Connecticut, plus an "artillery train" of two four-pounder cannon that rattled over the cobbles. His "army" was a mob of civilians poked into ranks, who carried a collection of odd arms, from 20-year-old muskets to shotguns, blunderbusses, and Spanish fusees. After debate en route, Breed's Hill overlooking Boston was chosen as the primary fortification, with Bunker Hill above Charlestown Neck as the backup. Prescott's diggers arrived atop Breed's at dead of night and began to build a redoubt of fire-step trenches, hogshead barrels filled with dirt, and bundles of wood-branch fascines completing a square with sides 132 feet long.

At dawn on June 17, General Howe was amazed to discover the fortress that had sprung up overnight on the heights. He and his colleagues noted; "Never give the Yankees time to dig." Howe's sound plan of a frontal attack and flank envelopment of Breed's Hill was delayed by six hours until his 1,500 infantry and 12 guns were finally in position.

The beginning of the battle came with a few rounds fired from the British frigate Lively. Those shots awoke Brigadier General Israel Putnam who galloped off to the hills. "Old Put" raided Prescott's diggers to improve the fortification of Bunker Hill. Grimy and game, the remaining 500 men settled in to await the British. Prescott and his officers, including Major John Stark and Captain Thomas Knowlton, had learned their trade in the French and Indian War. All their skills would be needed.After a bombardment by the Lively,

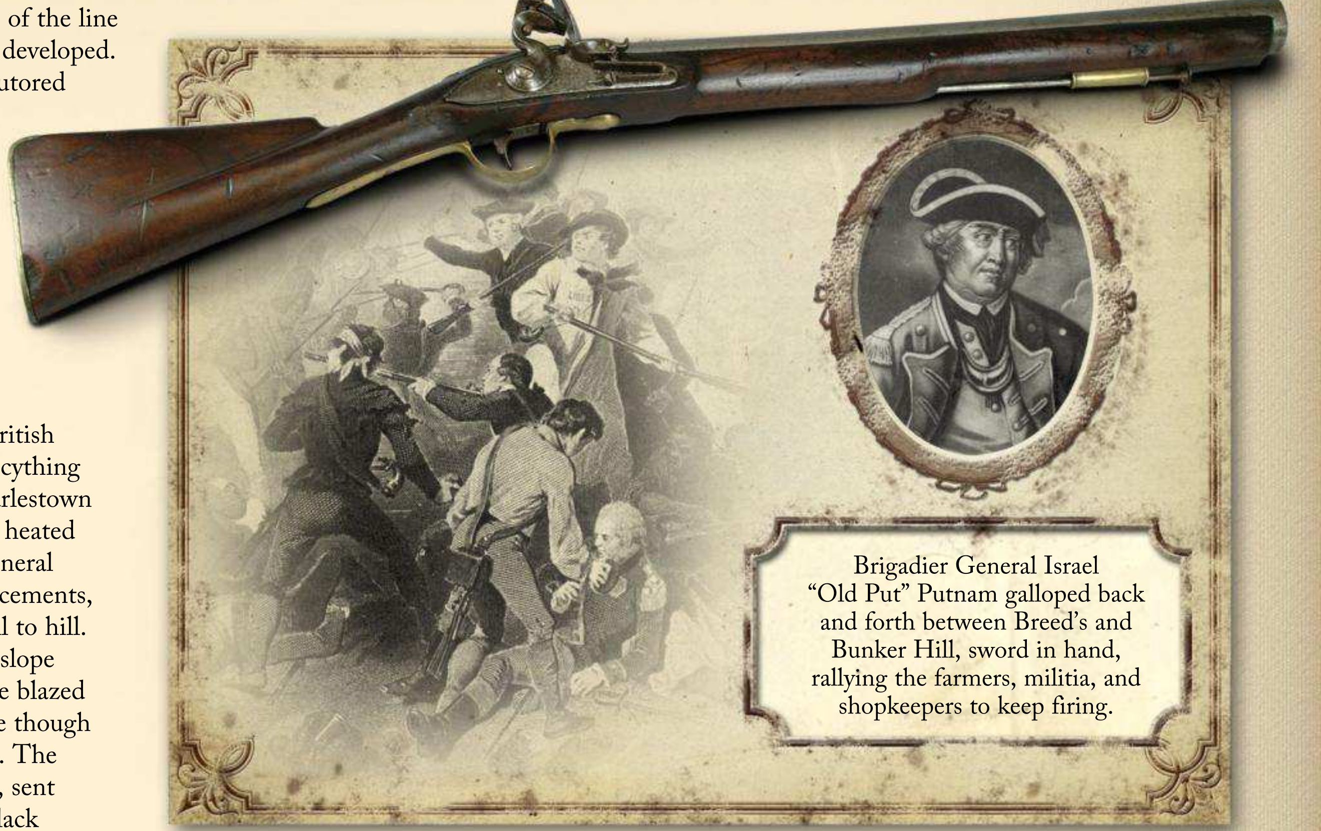
DR. JOSEPH WARREN

Dr. Warren (1741-1775) was a prominent Boston patriot influenced by Samuel Adams and active in the early struggle against British taxes and edicts. He became a doctor after graduating from Harvard. To oppose the Townshend Acts he wrote scathing articles under the nom de plume "True Patriot." His chairmanship of the Boston Committee of Safety led to a commission as major general in the Massachusetts militia. He was killed by a musket ball in the defense of Breed's Hill.



Falcon, and the 64-gun ship of the line Somerset, the British attack developed. Prepared to sweep aside untutored militia, the attacking troops were surprised by the organized defense. Stark's men at the landing beach ripped through the light infantry with disciplined volley fire by rank. "Fire at the top of their gaiters or the waistcoat!" Stark shouted. Struggling under 50 pounds of luggage, the British clambered up the hills into scything fire. To the rebels' rear, Charlestown had been set afire by British heated shot and exploding shot. General Ward tried to gather reinforcements, as Putnam galloped from hill to hill.

Grenadiers facing up the slope toward Knowlton's fence line blazed out a platoon volley that tore though the air above the militiamen. The answering volley, aimed low, sent grenadiers tumbling, their black bearskins bouncing down the hill. At 60 yards, 30 yards, 20 yards, militia volleys decimated the British front ranks. But numbers, discipline, and clouds of grapeshot foretold the end as, after three attacks, Howe and Clinton had secured both hills by the end of the day. The butcher's bill for the 2,500 British troops was 45 percent casualties. The Americans suffered 441 casualties out of their 1,500 engaged. The bumpkins had showed they had the makings of an army.

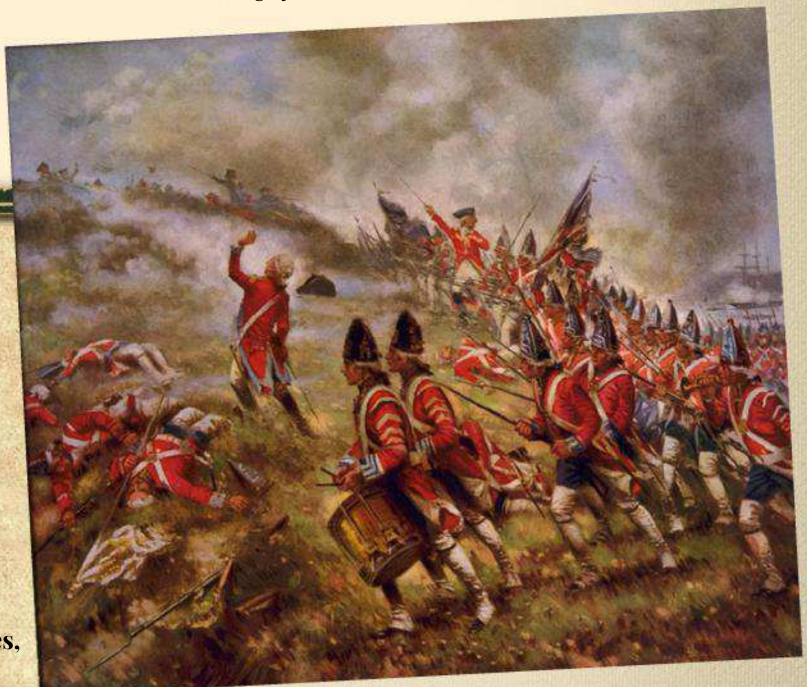


Brigadier General Israel "Old Put" Putnam galloped back and forth between Breed's and Bunker Hill, sword in hand, rallying the farmers, militia, and shopkeepers to keep firing.

ABOVE: *This engraving shows the last moments of the rear guard atop Breed's Hill as the British arrived. The farmers and shopkeepers held out against the bayonet as their fellow patriots successfully retreated.*

TOP: *The defenders of Breed's Hill used a variety of flintlock weapons like this short-barreled coach gun loaded with buckshot, old Spanish Fusees, fowling pieces, trade muskets and hunting rifles.*

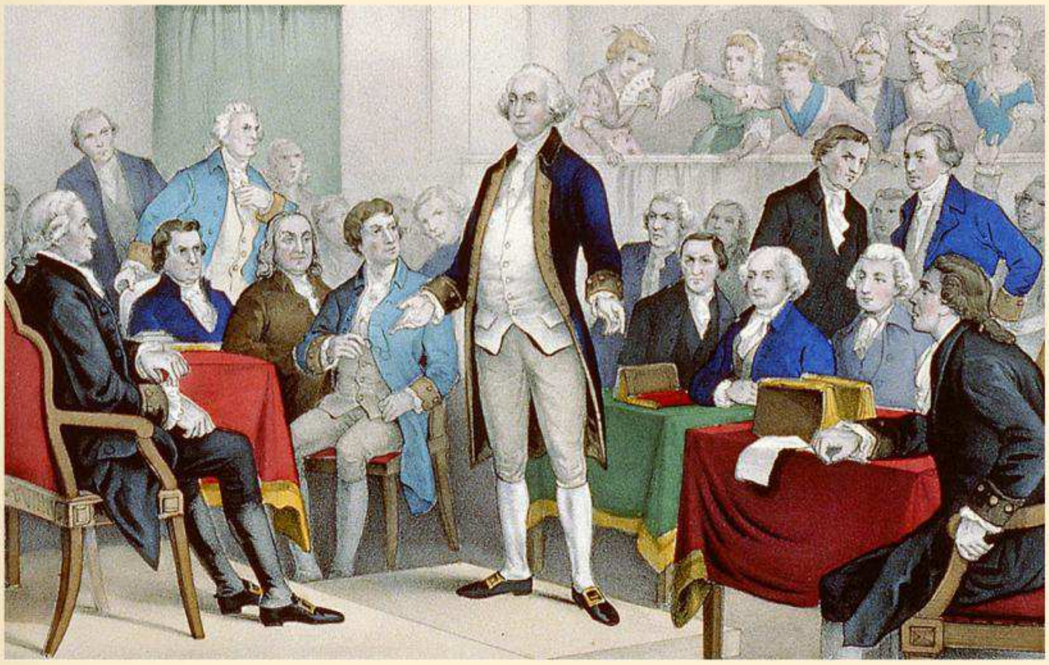
RIGHT: *This painting by Trumbull captures the grim attack on Breed's Hill. British Regulars lean into the slope of the hill as the torrent of lead shot pours into their ranks.*



ARTILLERY FAILURE AT BREED'S HILL

Had the British been able to properly deploy their artillery at Breed's Hill, the outcome might have been different. To bombard the redoubt at the crest, ships' guns were first employed, but the 9-12 pound cannon could not be properly elevated and the target was beyond the 1,200-yard accuracy range of these weapons. Howe's artillery became mired in the marshy ground and then it was discovered the six-pounders had been provided with 12-pound shot. After horrific casualties, grape shot was finally used to carry the American redoubt.

WASHINGTON CHOSEN TO LEAD 1776



ABOVE: *Washington had only commanded militia when Congress picked him to lead the army. He looked like a general and he dressed like one. His men readily accepted him as their leader.*

The militia's adventure atop Breed's and Bunker Hills ended in retreat, but the rag-tag band led by experienced officers had dealt the British a drubbing and then withdrawn in good order. This action seemed to justify a request made by the Massachusetts Committee of Safety before the battle. The committee had penned a letter to the Second Continental Congress sitting in the Pennsylvania State House asking that their militia be adopted as an "American Army" for all the colonies. But who could lead such a force?

On June 14, John Adams rose to nominate "a gentleman whose skill as an officer, whose independent fortune, great talents and universal character would command the respect of America and unite the full exertions of the colonies better than any other person alive, a gentleman of Virginia who is among us here and well known to all of us."

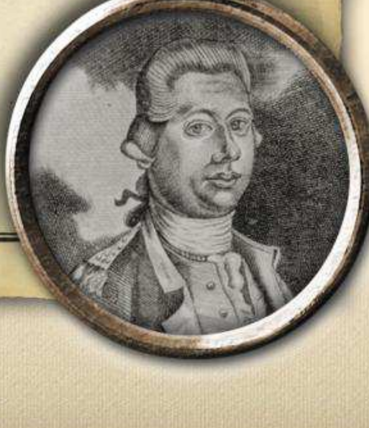
As Colonel Prescott led his men toward Breed's Hill on June 16, 1775, the President of Congress, John Hancock, offered the leadership of the Continental Army to the Virginia militia colonel, George Washington. On accepting, the 43-year-old Washington read a prepared statement expressing doubt in his own abilities, but pledging that he would do his best; "As to pay, Sir, I beg leave to Assure the Congress that no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to have accepted this Arduous employment … I do not wish to make any proffit from it."

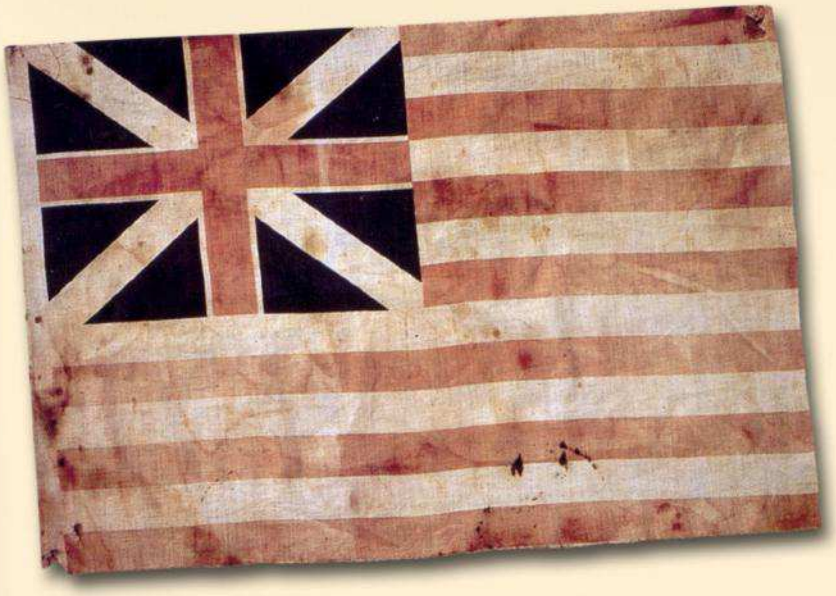
Barely more than two weeks later, on a rainy Sunday, July 2, 1775, General Washington rode into Cambridge to inspect his command. At his side was Major General Charles Lee, an ambitious ex-British officer. Washington traveled to each militia encampment, and as he did so men stood by their campfires and quietly doffed their wide-brimmed and tricorn hats. Officers gathered to him: Artemas Ward of Massachusetts; John Glover and his fishermen from Marblehead; the well turned-out Rhode Islanders with their young commander, 33-year-old Nathanael Greene. There was even a portly, 25-year-old, bespectacled bookseller, Henry Knox, who seemed to have a bookworm's encyclopedic knowledge of artillery.

Washington passed the summer in shaping up his blockading army. The British made only small raids and lobbed occasional balls at the American lines. They never mobilized the sizeable group of Boston Tories or seized Dorchester Heights, which overlooked their anchorage. Washington wanted to put heavy artillery on those heights quickly, because the enlistments of his "Eight-Month Army" would be up by the end of the year, and many

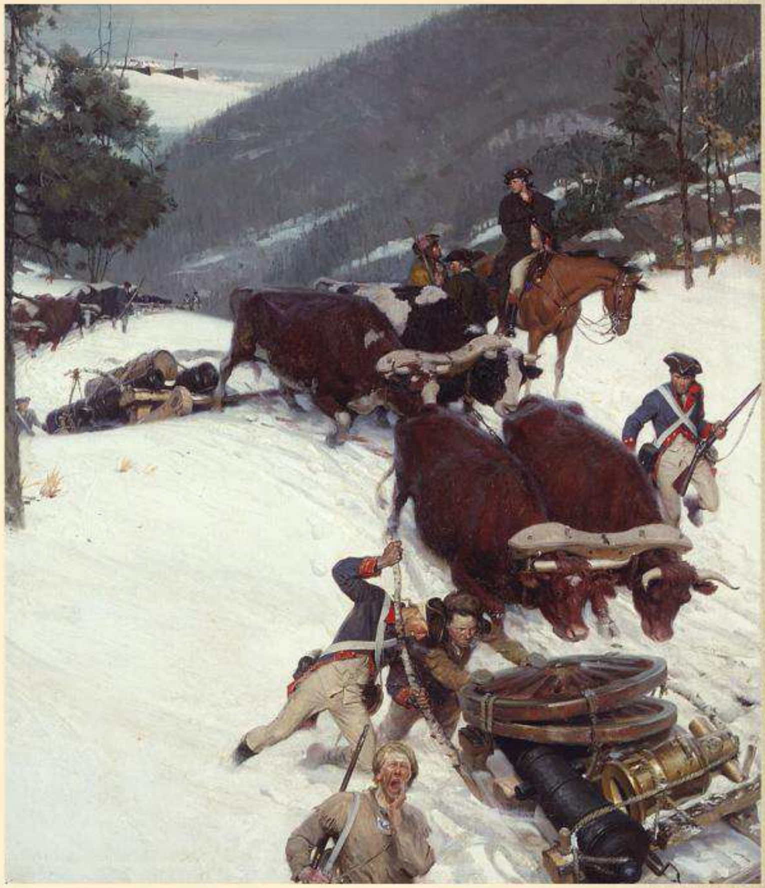
HENRY KNOX

Born to a poor family, Henry Knox (1750-1806) quit school to apprentice as a bookbinder when his father abandoned the family. He opened his own bookstore at age 21 and began reading books on war and strategy. The rotund youth with glasses and a knowledge of guns and defenses caught Washington's attention while inspecting the militia. Soon, Knox rose to be chief of artillery. His command of guns and personal courage throughout the war eventually earned him the post of Washington's Secretary of War.

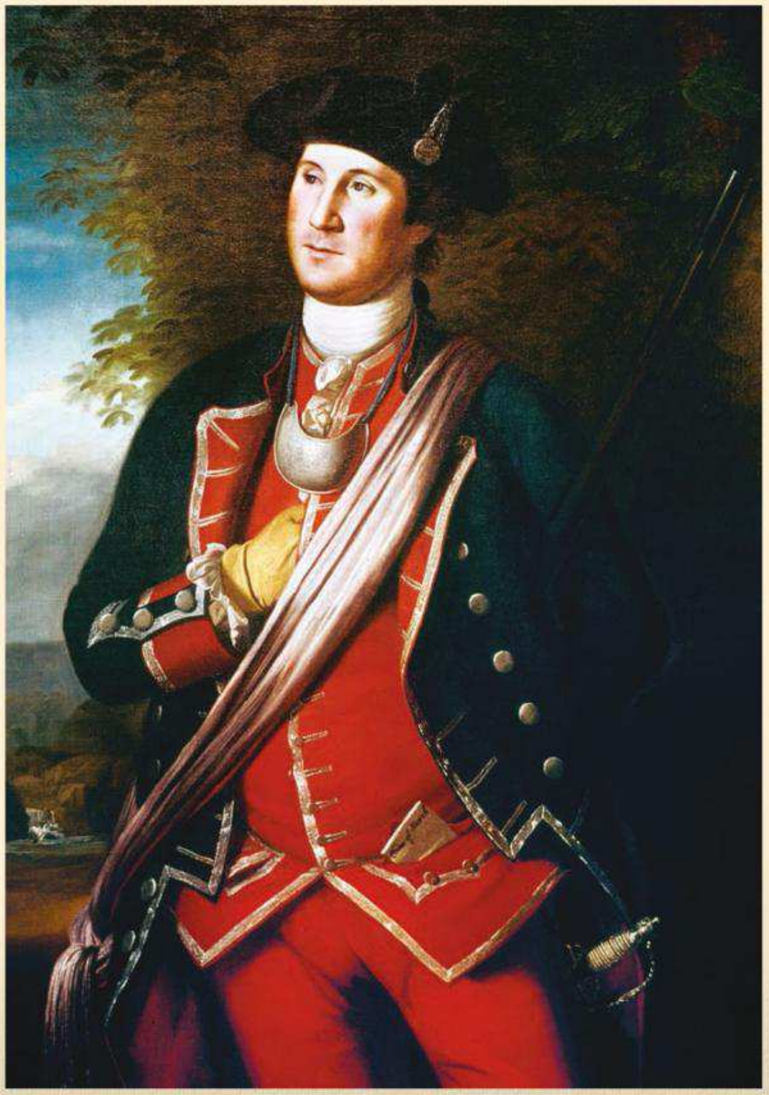




ABOVE: *The Grand Union was the flag of an American army that still had no name when they bottled up the British in Boston. During the Revolution, the army fought under many "American" flags.*



ABOVE: *Henry Knox's "noble train of artillery" and its transport over 300 miles through snow and over frozen rivers from Fort Ticonderoga to Boston was an outstanding feat of arms.*



of his troops would go home. Meanwhile, British artillery was in place at Fort Ticonderoga, New York, on the southern tip of Lake Champlain. Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys, along with Benedict Arnold, had captured the fort on May 10, 1775, without firing a shot.

Henry Knox volunteered to take a party to bring back the guns. To Knox, there was no such thing as "can't be done." Leading a train of 59 iron and bronze cannons of various calibers roped to sledges and dragged by oxen, the bookseller–artilleryman made one of the great winter treks in military history. On March 4, 1776, the guns boomed above Boston for the first time.

As a result, the British garrison and anchorage were indefensible. Patriot gun muzzles thrust through the ports of hand-dug redoubts all along Dorchester Heights. So General Howe gathered his garrison force and many Tory families into transport ships and sailed from Boston for Halifax, Nova Scotia. On March 18, in his first victory, Washington entered the city under a new flag – the Grand Union – made of 13 red and white stripes with a Union Jack in the corner. The colonies – twice victorious – had yet to make the final break.

LEFT: *This oil painting by Charles Wilson Peale is the earliest authenticated portrait of Washington. He is depicted wearing his colonel's uniform from the French and Indian War. The portrait was painted about 12 years after Washington's service in that war, and several years before he would re-enter military service in the American Revolution.*

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE JULY 4, 1776

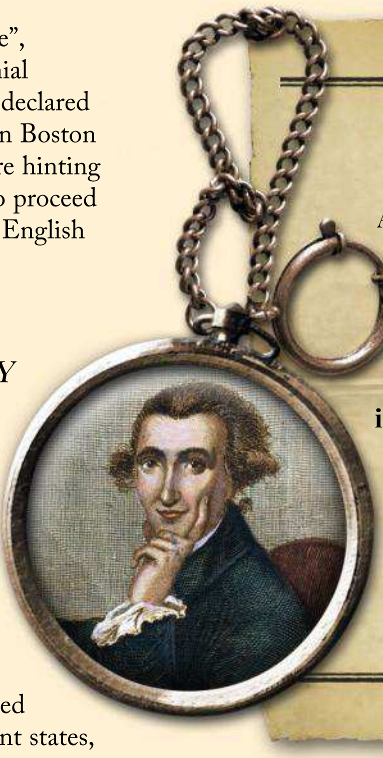
During the spring of 1776, the words “independence”, “separation”, and “secession” were spoken in colonial meeting houses and taverns alike. George III had declared the colonies to be in open rebellion. The British garrison in Boston had been forced to decamp to Halifax, and the French were hinting at possible aid against their hereditary enemy. If the will to proceed was wanting, a two-shilling 47-page pamphlet by a recent English immigrant expressed stirring ideas that called for action.

> *“O YE THAT LOVE MANKIND! YE THAT DARE OPPOSE NOT ONLY THE TYRANNY BUT THE TYRANT, STAND FORTH!”*

Thomas Paine’s *Common Sense* arrived in Thomas Jefferson’s hands that spring as Jefferson prepared to return to Congress at Philadelphia in May. Others were busy rounding up support. John Adams suggested the colonies create independent governments for themselves. North Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, and the New England colonies pressed acceptance of a proposal made on June 7 by Virginia delegate Richard Henry Lee: “That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown…” New York abstained; Pennsylvania and South Carolina demurred; while Delaware was split. As the debate continued, Congress created a committee of five to prepare a document declaring independence. This regionally balanced group – John Adams of Massachusetts, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, and the New Yorker, Robert R. Livingston – selected Jefferson to draft the declaration.

In a two-storey brick house at Market and 7th Street in Philadelphia, Jefferson’s lodgings occupied the entire second floor. There, writing on laid paper on a portable writing desk he had designed, the Virginia planter, scientist, and inventor composed his thoughts to create what he hoped would be “an expression of the American mind.” By June 28, he had a “rough draft,” which he shared with Adams and Franklin. After revision, this document was ready

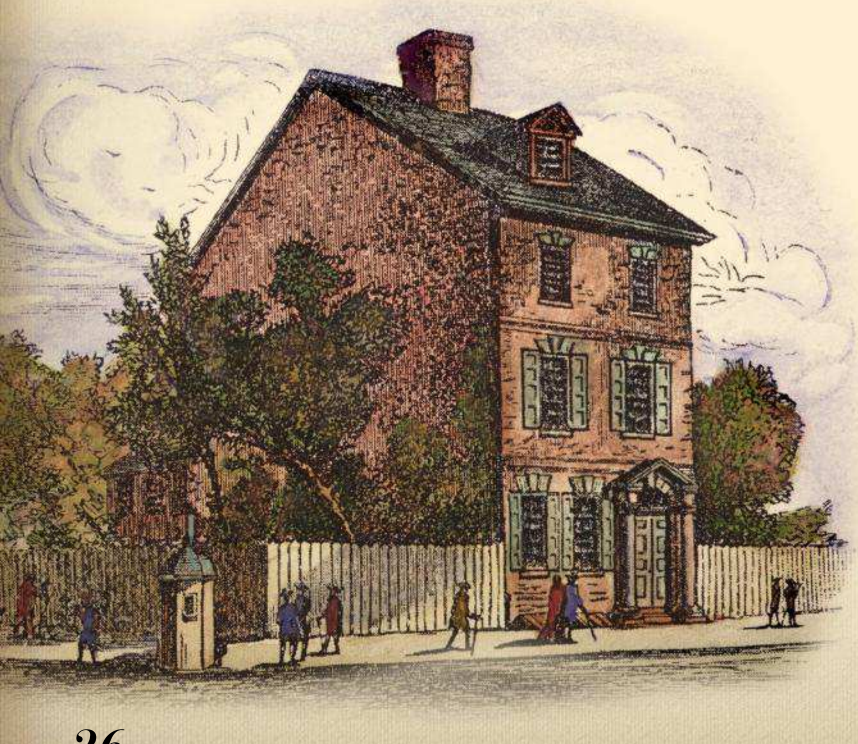
> *“ WE WANT NEITHER INDUCEMENT NOR POWER TO DECLARE AND ASSERT A SEPARATION. IT IS WILL, ALONE, WHICH IS WANTING, AND THAT IS GROWING APACE UNDER THE FOSTERING HAND OF OUR KING.”*
>
> Thomas Jefferson
> Letter to a British friend



THOMAS PAINE

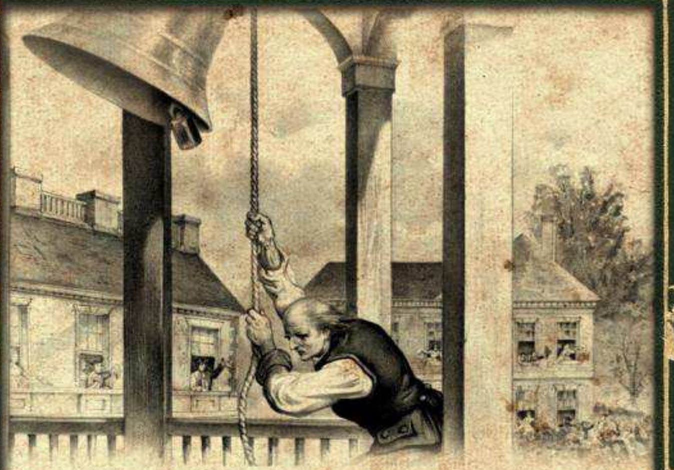
As a child in England in the 1740s Thomas Paine (1737–1809) failed school, failed apprenticeship at his father’s shop, failed in a life at sea, and failed as a tax collector for writing a pamphlet that argued for a pay raise. Fortunately, in 1774 he met Benjamin Franklin who brought him to America. Here, Paine wrote *Common Sense* and *The Crisis*, two works that greatly inspired the founders and the public during the revolution. His most famous work was *The Age of Reason*, written in France (1794–96).

BELOW: *Thomas Jefferson wrote the first draft of the Declaration in the rented second floor of this Philadelphia home at Market and 7th Street that belonged to a brick-maker.*



for the other committee members. Finally, Jefferson prepared a fresh draft for submission to Congress.

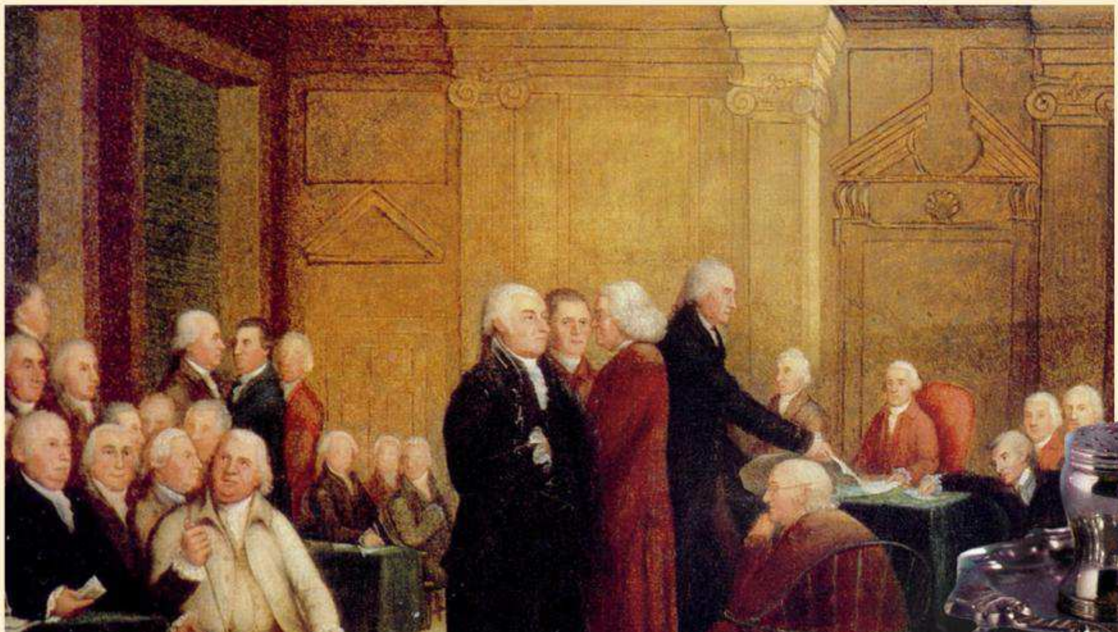
In Pennsylvania's soon-to-be State House, New York's delegates still awaited instructions and Delaware remained split on the resolution for independence. Meanwhile, Caesar Rodney, the third delegate from Delaware, galloped his horse through rain and lightning to cast his vote. Sodden and mud-splashed, he cast it for the resolution. New York eventually voted aye on July 19. Earlier, on July 2, 1776, Congress had approved the resolution for independence. The next day, Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, and other members of the declaration committee presented their document. All that day Congress labored over the declaration's language – deleting its criticism of slavery – and sharpening it. On July 4, President John Hancock and Secretary Charles Thomson signed the draft and it was printed overnight in John Dunlap's print shop. Copies headed out to the other colonies the next morning in the saddlebags of post riders. On July 8, in front of a crowd in the yard of Pennsylvania's Colony House, John Nixon, a member of the Committee of Safety, read the Declaration of Independence aloud. Reactions were mixed. Amid the cheers and ringing bells, Loyalists and Tories booed and berated. Jefferson's words had captured some of "the American mind," but not all of it, as the next few years would amply demonstrate On the night of July 9, following a reading of the Declaration in New York, Patriots toppled the equestrian statue of George III from its pedestal, broke it up, and sent it on to Connecticut to be melted down and cast into musket balls.



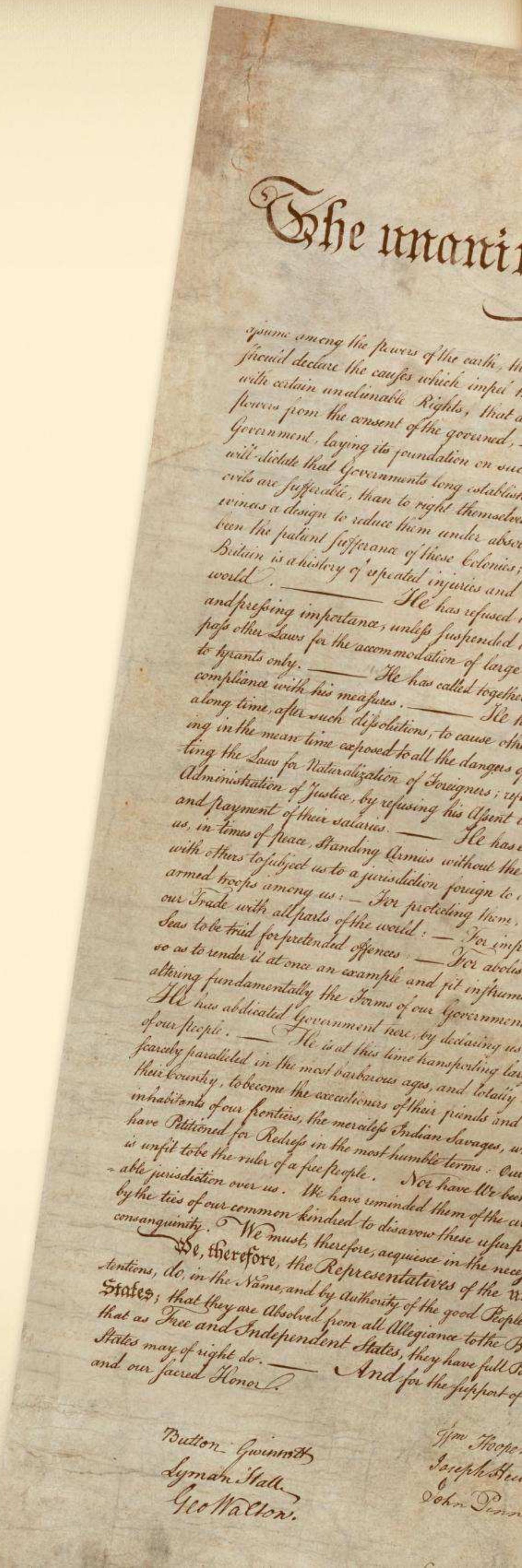
LIBERTY BELL

The Pennsylvania State House needed a bell for its new steeple. The Whitechapel Bell Foundry cast one and, on its first test, it cracked. Philadelphia founders John Pass and John Stow were commissioned to make the bell less brittle and recast it. On their second try, in 1753, it was accepted. The $225 bell weighing 2,044 pounds, and which rings in the key of E flat, is engraved in part "Proclaims Liberty Throughout all the Land..."

BELOW: *This stylized group portrait showing the four committee members handing over the first draft of the Declaration to Congress does not show the exhausted reality of that hot, wet July day.*



ABOVE: *These ink pots were used at the Continental Congress in Philadelphia to sign and annotate the draft of the Declaration of Independence. Goose quills were the typical writing instrument.*



The unani

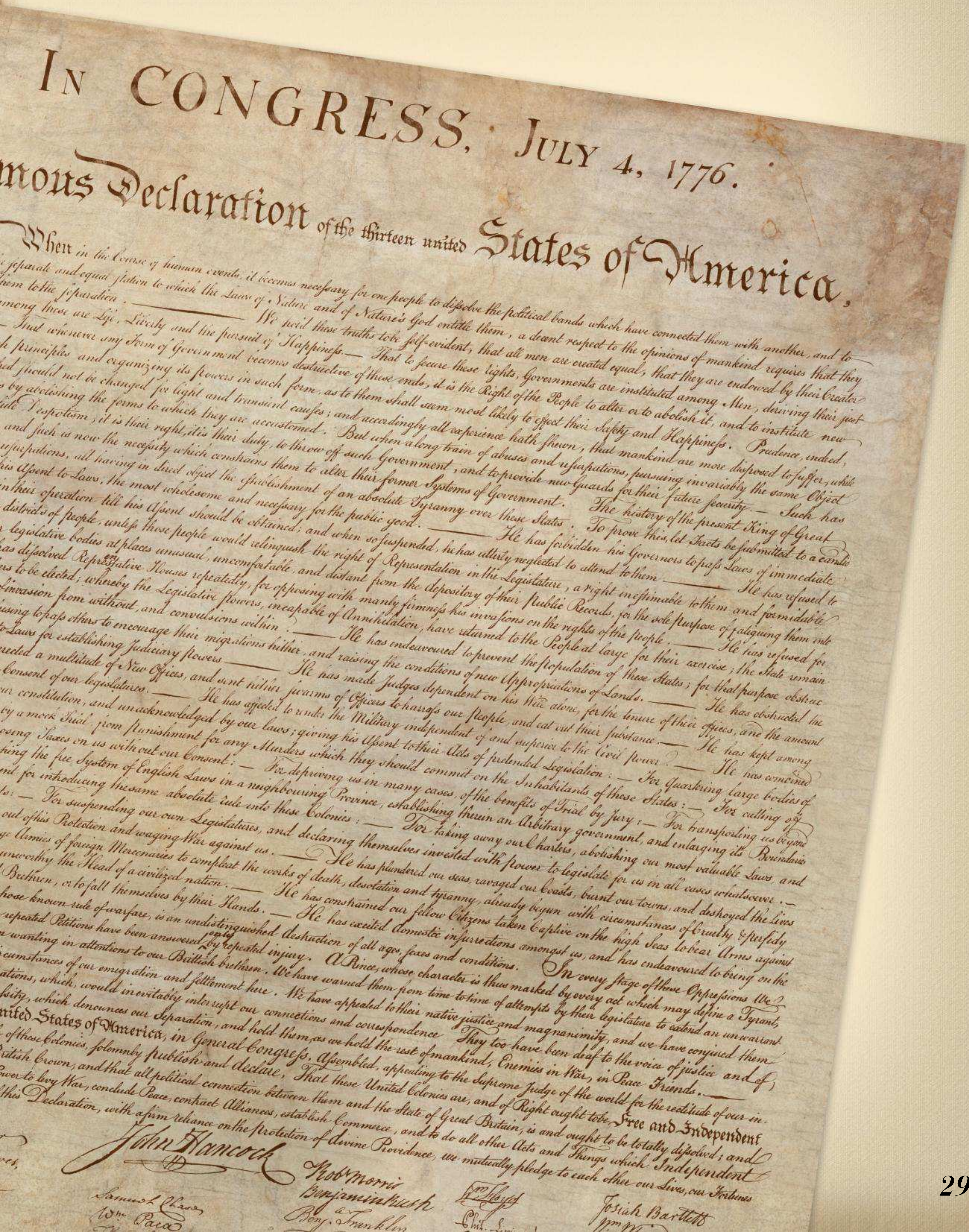
aſsume among the powers of the earth, th
ſhould declare the cauſes which impel th
with certain unalienable Rights, that a
powers from the consent of the governed,
Government, laying its foundation on suc
will dictate that Governments long establiſh
evils are ſufferable, than to right themselve
evinces a design to reduce them under abso
been the patient ſufferance of these Colonies;
Britain is a history of repeated injuries and
world. —— He has refused
and preſsing importance, unleſs ſuspended
paſs other Laws for the accommodation of large
to tyrants only. —— He has called together
compliance with his meaſures. —— He h
along time, after such diſsolutions, to cause oth
ing in the mean time exposed to all the dangers o
ting the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; ref
Administration of Justice, by refusing his Aſsent t
and payment of their ſalaries. —— He has
us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the
with others to ſubject us to a jurisdiction foreign to
armed troops among us: — For protecting them,
our Trade with all parts of the world: — For imp
Seas to be tried for pretended offences — For abolis
so as to render it at once an example and fit inſtrum
altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governmen
He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us
of our people. —— He is at this time transporting la
ſcarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally
their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and
inhabitants of our frontiers, the mercileſs Indian Savages, w
have Petitioned for Redreſs in the most humble terms: Ou
is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. Nor have We bee
-able jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the ci
by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these uſurp
consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the neceſ
We, therefore, the Representatives of the U
-tentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People
States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the B
that as Free and Independent States, they have full P
States may of right do. —— And for the ſupport of
and our ſacred Honor.

Button Gwinnett
Lyman Hall
Geo Walton.

Wm Hoope
Joseph Hew
John Penn

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

RIGHT: Signed copy of the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, written primarily by Thomas Jefferson, and edited by committee members including John Adams and Benjamin Franklin.



IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

mous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America,

When in the Course of human events, it becomes neceſsary for one people to diſsolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to
ſeparate and equal ſtation to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they
hem to the ſeparation. —— We hold these truths to be ſelf-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator
mong these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happineſs. — That to ſecure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just
— That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new
h principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happineſs. Prudence, indeed,
hed ſhould not be changed for light and transient cauſes; and accordingly all experience hath ſhewn, that mankind are more disposed to ſuffer, while
s by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and uſurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object
tute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future ſecurity. — Such has
and ſuch is now the neceſsity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great
uſurpations, all having in direct object the eſtablishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be ſubmitted to a candid
his Aſsent to Laws, the most wholesome and neceſsary for the public good. —— He has forbidden his Governors to paſs Laws of immediate
n their operation till his Aſsent should be obtained; and when so ſuspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. —— He has refused to
districts of people, unleſs those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right ineſtimable to them and formidable
e legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into
has diſsolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmneſs his invasions on the rights of the people. —— He has refused for
ers to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remain
f invasion from without, and convulsions within. —— He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstruc
using to paſs others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands. —— He has obstructed the
to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers. —— He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount
rected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither ſwarms of Officers to haraſs our people, and eat out their ſubstance. —— He has kept among
Consent of our legislatures. —— He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power. —— He has combined
ur constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Aſsent to their Acts of pretended Legislation: — For Quartering large bodies of
by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States: — For cutting off
osing Taxes on us without our Consent: — For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury: — For transporting us beyond
hing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries
nt for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies: —— For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and
ts: — For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever. —
out of his Protection and waging War against us. —— He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives
e Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy
unworthy the Head of a civilized nation. —— He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against
Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands. — He has excited domestic inſurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the
hose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, ſexes and conditions. In every ſtage of these Oppreſsions We
repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant,
n wanting in attentions to our Brittish brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrant-
cumstances of our emigration and ſettlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them
ations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of
sity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends. ——
nited States of America, in General Congreſs, Aſsembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our in-
of these Colonies, ſolemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent
ritish Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally diſsolved; and
ower to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent
this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes

John Hancock

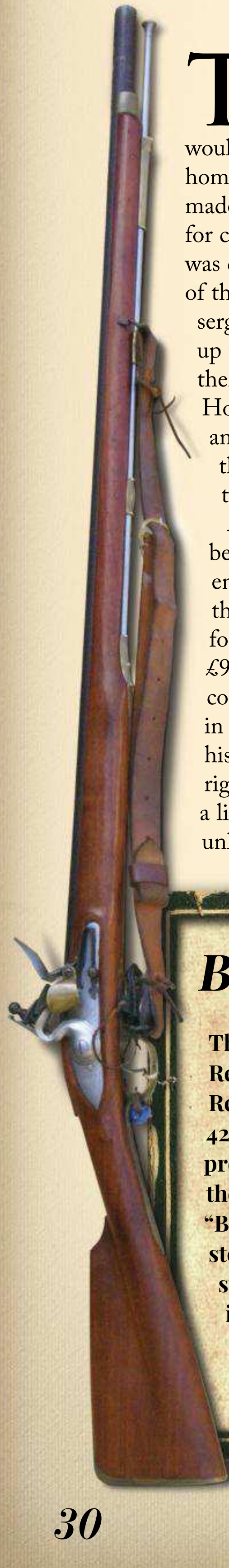
Robt Morris
Benjamin Rush
Benja. Franklin

Samuel Chase
Wm Paca

Wm Floyd

Josiah Bartlett

THE BRITISH SOLDIER



The British army of the 18th Century was very much conditioned by class. Britain's prisons were also its best recruiting depots and, since a man would rather accept enlistment than face jail, civilians at home dismissed the British "Ranker" as a thug. A private made eight pence a day and, from this, money for clothing, shaving kits, sewing kits, and "health care" was docked. Often the money went into the pockets of the heart of any regiment: the non-commissioned sergeants and corporals, career men who had come up through the ranks and survived. Privates feared their officers and NCOs almost more than the enemy. However, the drill, harsh discipline, cruel punishment, and subordination they meted out also produced the best and most reliable infantry soldier in the traditional European world.

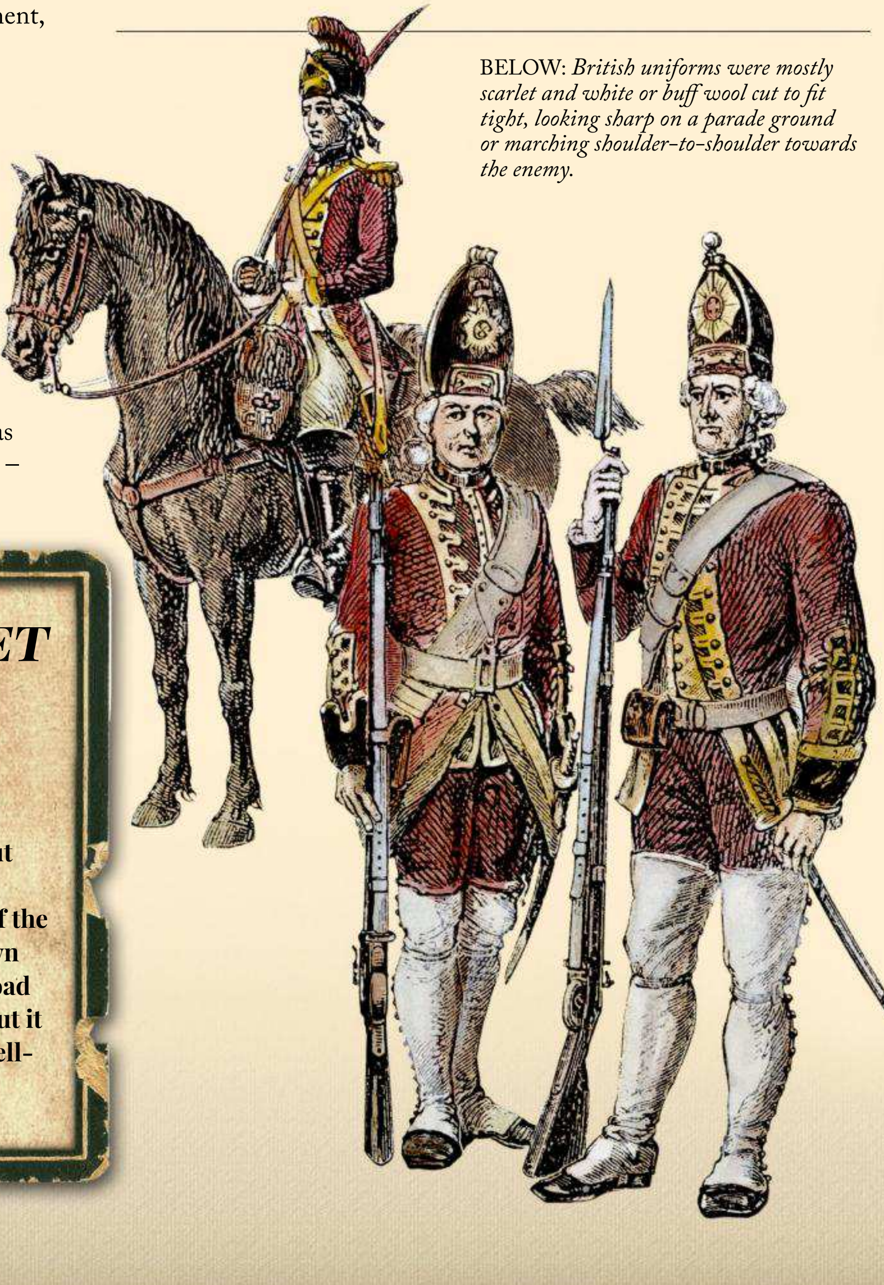
A young boy of 15, hoping to be an officer, began his army career with a commission as ensign, bought for at least £400, although the better the regiment, the higher the cost for commissions. The Footguards charged £900 for an ensign and £3,500 for a captain's commission, compared to £1,500 for a captaincy in an ordinary infantry regiment. If an officer or his family had the means, he could buy his way right up the chain of command. A commission was a lifetime guarantee of employment in the military – unless some gross misconduct forced retirement. For the British, learning by doing from age 15 produced some exceptional commanders.

British soldiers carried 50 pounds of marching order rations, tools, blanket roll, tin or wood canteen and 60 rounds of single ball ammunition on their backs, as well as a .75 caliber Brown Bess musket. Officers carried swords, pistols, and sometimes, long pikes called spontoons or a halberd. Mounted cavalry formed the elite shock troops. Wielding swords, carbine muskets, and dragoon pistols, these dashing horse soldiers were the pride of every army.

Grim-faced British soldiers wheeling into an advancing line with loaded muskets and bayonets made a terrible sight for any opposing army that faced them.

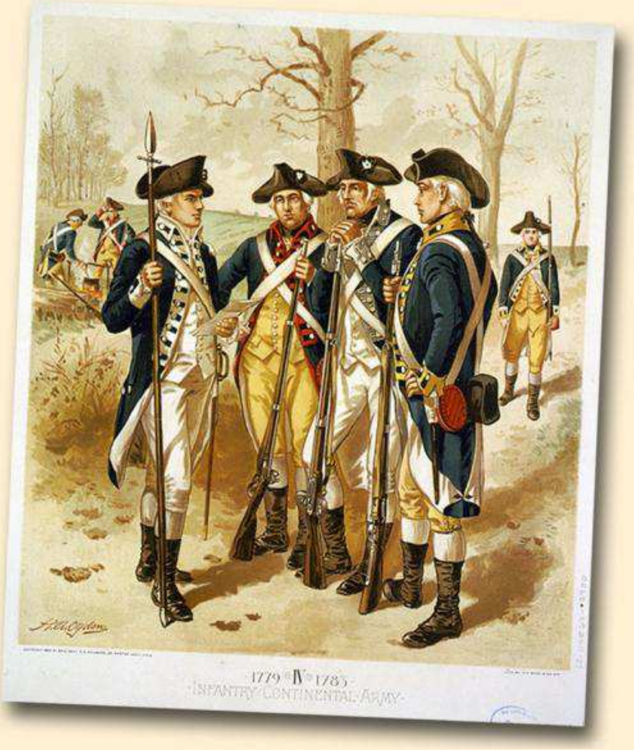
BROWN BESS MUSKET

The Short Land Service Musket used by the Regulars of the British infantry during the Revolutionary War had its barrel shortened to 42 inches from the clumsy 46-inch barrel of its predecessor. It weighed about 11 pounds without the 15-inch bayonet. Both muskets were called "Brown Bess," probably from the "browning" of the steel parts to prevent rust and the natural brown stock. The musket could put its smoothbore load into a five-foot diameter circle at 100 yards but it was the weight and density of metal — not well-aimed shots — that cut down the enemy.



BELOW: *British uniforms were mostly scarlet and white or buff wool cut to fit tight, looking sharp on a parade ground or marching shoulder-to-shoulder towards the enemy.*

THE CONTINENTAL SOLDIER



LEFT: *Four uniformed Continental Army "Regulars" in conversation, wearing the common blue coat faced with red, white, or buff, to distinguish State units. The officer carries a "spontoon" spear and wears a short sword.*

Congress authorized the raising of 88 regiments for a Continental Army following pleas from General Washington to not rely on a loose collection of state militias. This Continental Army was to be fashioned on the European model, initially employing British manuals. Not all militias flocked to the colors, some choosing to remain independent. Washington resigned himself to commanding two distinct armies that fought side by side.

A militiaman reported for duty carrying his own smoothbore musket, a shotgun, or occasionally a hunter's long rifle. He needed a cartridge box to hold paper cartridges, or a powder horn and bag to carry balls, and extra flints and tools. He also carried a bladed weapon such as a tomahawk since family muskets could not mount a bayonet for close fighting. A wooden canteen, a haversack for rations, and a blanket completed his equipage. Even drawn up in formation, these "seasonal soldiers" were a motley band.

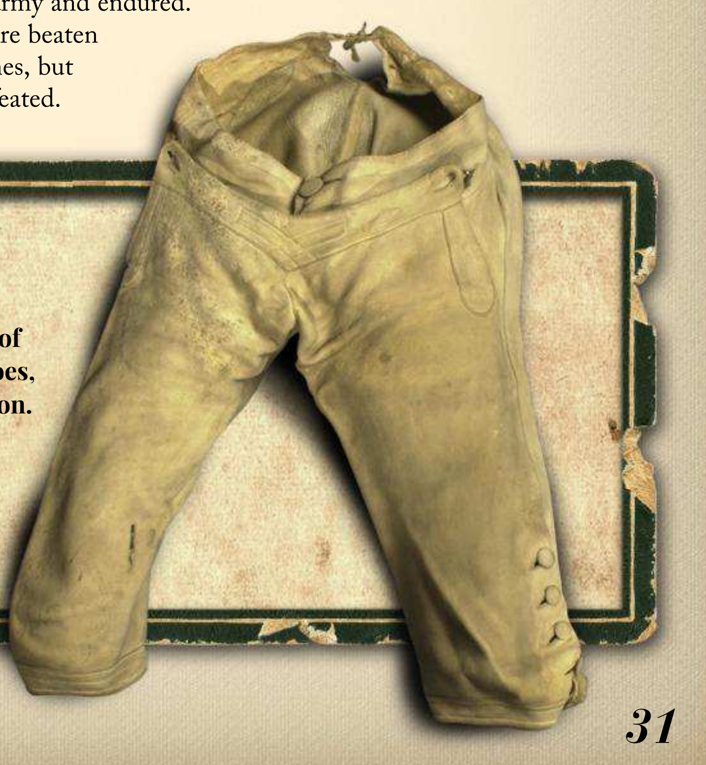
The Continental soldier generally carried a .69 caliber smoothbore musket about five-feet long that mounted a 15-inch socket bayonet. The arrival of 100,000 1763 French Charleville muskets set the pattern for standard issue. After 1778, training began at Valley Forge, and a manual of arms was established for loading and firing the flintlock musket. This training exercise forced the recruit into the "volley-fire on command" system of stand-up warfare that became streamlined for speed in the field.

The Continental Army recruitment quotas were apportioned according to the free population of each state, with regiments varying in size from 700 to as few as 350 men. As Washington took command in Boston, he had no uniforms to distinguish soldier from officer so he designated colored sashes for general officers, colored hat cockades for field officers, and armbands for non-commissioned officers. His own singular sash was pale blue. Even when uniforms became available, the effect was often a hodgepodge. A basic set included a white cotton shirt, waistcoat, regimental coat, and breeches and gaiters or coveralls. White crossbelts carried the bayonet scabbard on one side and the cartridge box on the other. Officers purchased their own uniforms, side arms, and swords.

The American Continental Army and the militias faced the world's greatest army and endured. They were beaten many times, but never defeated.

CONTINENTAL UNIFORMS

At the outset, uniforms of the Continental Army were made up of a mix of local militias turned out in civilian knee breeches, stockings, buckle shoes, homespun shirts, and wide-brim or tricorn hats of felt, beaver or raccoon. Some states clothed their men in smart unofficial uniforms of various colors. At one point, the French unloaded a mixed lot of blue, brown, and green coat and breeches outfits. By 1779, Washington decreed that blue coats with different color lapel facings would define each unit. However, the frontier sharpshooters kept their buckskins.



THE BRITISH RETURN TO THE COLONIES 1776

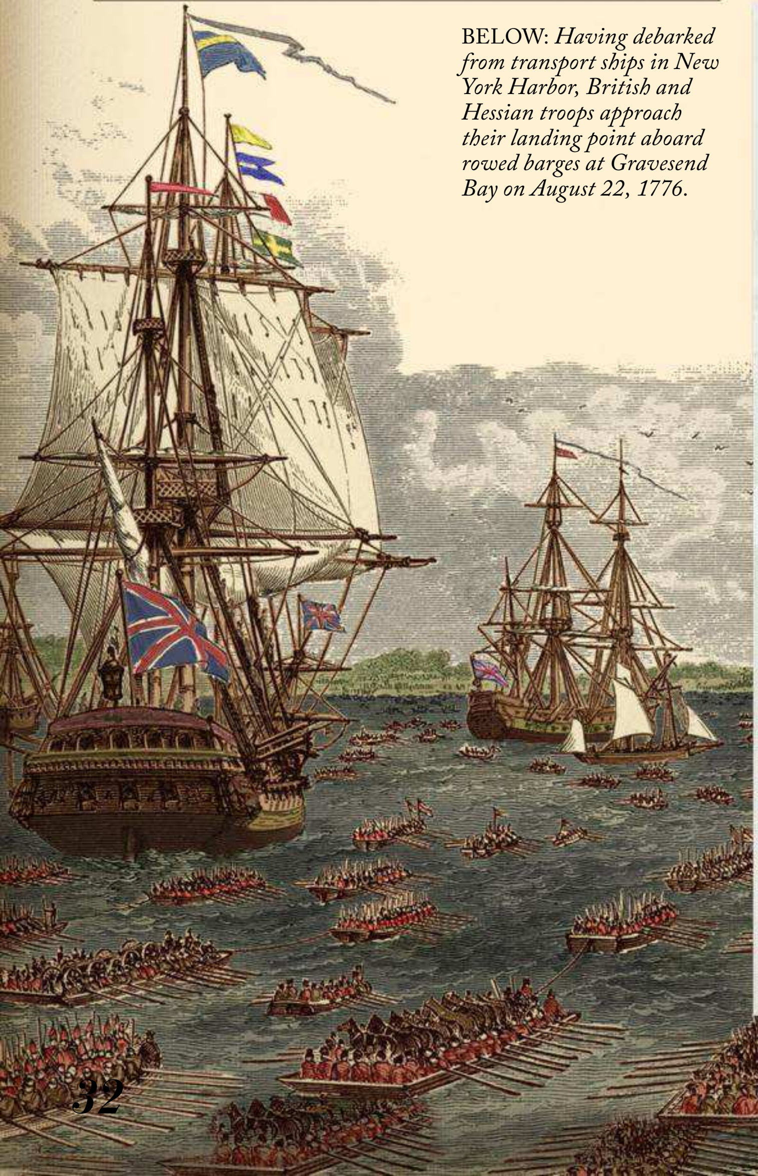
When he had occupied Boston on March 18, 1776, General Washington shifted five regiments of New Englanders, Virginia riflemen, Pennsylvanians, and Marylanders along with some artillery to New York. Nathanael Greene had gone ahead to scout Gravesend and the Long Island coast to map possible British landing sites. When the army arrived, they exchanged muskets for shovels and began to dig. They ringed Manhattan and its approaches with redoubts, embrasures, and trenches. Greene, Henry Knox with his big guns, and other commanders created a picture in their minds of what the British would do, and planned accordingly. Washington agreed, and so unwittingly he helped build a trap for his army.

Having divided his troops and guns between Long Island and Manhattan, he left Long Island Sound, the Hudson, and East Rivers undefended.This beginner's mistake gave General William Howe, his brother Admiral Sir Richard "Black Dick" Howe, and transports bearing British troops and German mercenaries a pick of landing places.

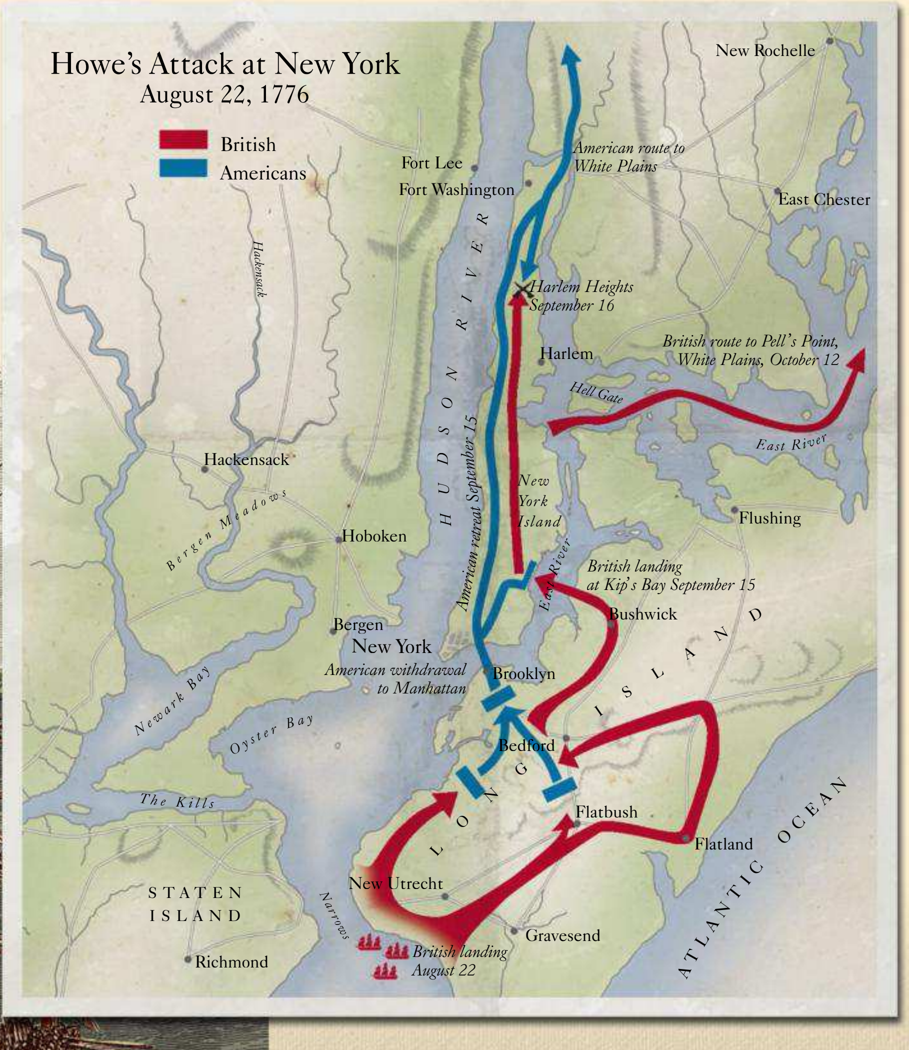
On June 29, the sun rose on 100 British sail anchored in New York's Lower Bay. Military wisdom dictated that Washington pull his divided and thinly spread army from New York and establish an inland redoubt. But Congress refused to lose face by giving up the city.

Washington could have overridden their pleas, but he and his generals decided to stay and fight. American mistakes and British mastery of tactics doomed the defense even as the defenders dug yet deeper.

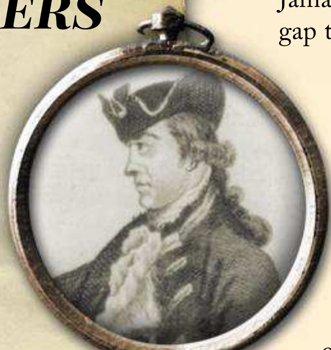
While post riders carried the Declaration of Independence throughout the colonies and bells rang and patriots cheered, Congress's army floundered in confusion as it prepared for its first formal battle. Bedeviled by a hundred small details, plagued by the



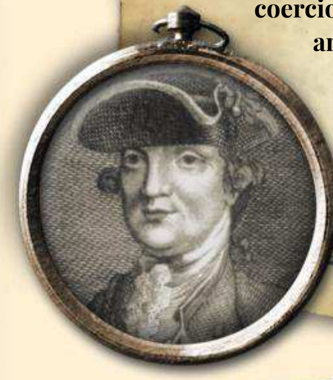
BELOW: *Having debarked from transport ships in New York Harbor, British and Hessian troops approach their landing point aboard rowed barges at Gravesend Bay on August 22, 1776.*


Howe's Attack at New York
August 22, 1776
🟥 British
🟦 Americans
New Rochelle
Fort Lee
Fort Washington
American route to White Plains
East Chester
Hackensack
HUDSON RIVER
Harlem Heights September 16
Harlem
British route to Pell's Point, White Plains, October 12
Hell Gate
East River
Hackensack
New York Island
Flushing
Bergen Meadows
Hoboken
American retreat September 15
British landing at Kip's Bay September 15
East River
Bushwick
Bergen
New York
American withdrawal to Manhattan
Brooklyn
LONG ISLAND
Newark Bay
Oyster Bay
Bedford
The Kills
Flatbush
Flatland
ATLANTIC OCEAN
New Utrecht
STATEN ISLAND
Narrows
Gravesend
British landing August 22
Richmond

HOWE BROTHERS



General Sir William Howe (1729-1814) was commander-in-chief of the British army in America from July 1775 to May 1778. His brother, Admiral Sir Richard Howe, older by three years, commanded the British fleet along the American coast. General Howe was opposed to British coercion of North America, and Richard Howe had wanted to lead a peace delegation to the colonies after conversing with Benjamin Franklin. For both, however, duty to the Crown came first.

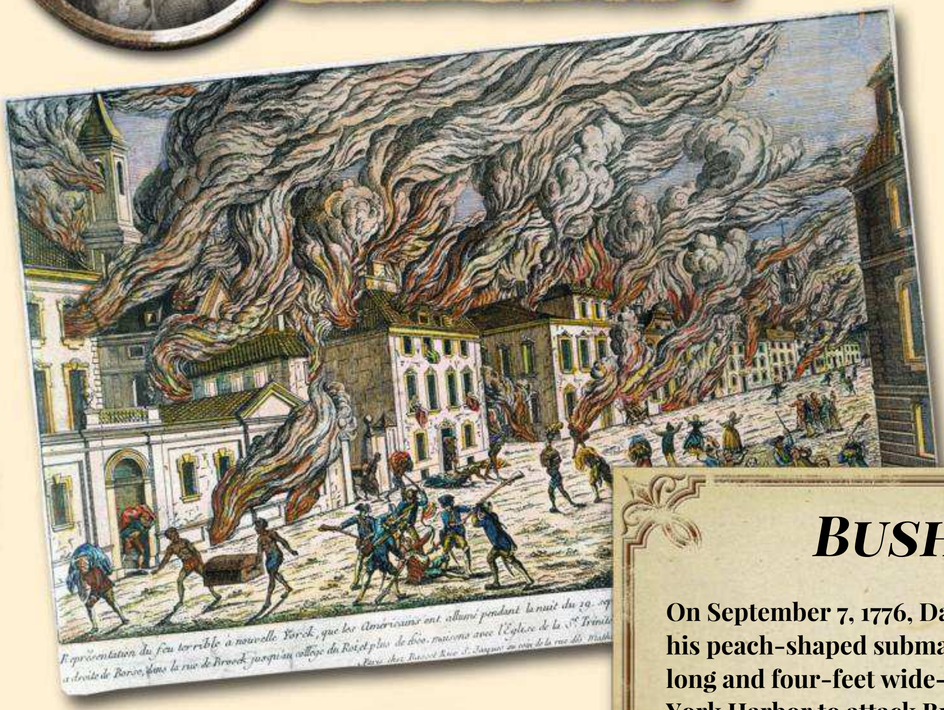


loss of Greene to illness, and struggling with textbook commanders, Washington's unease grew. In trying to defend too much territory with too few assets, a critical breech in the Long Island defenses at Jamaica Plain remained unguarded. Loyalist farmers pointed out the gap to British scouts.

On August 22, reefed headsails unfurled for steerageway as frigates and bomb ketches, towing 88 barges filled with the first of 15,000 British and German troops, made their way toward Long Island. Martial music from ships' bands and the skirl of bagpipes for the Black Watch troops floated over the scene. On the night of August 26, Generals William Howe, Henry Clinton, and Hessian General Leopold Philipp von Heister marched with 28 pieces of artillery, the 17th Light Dragoons, 71st Highlanders, 33rd West Ridings, the Guards, and 11 other regiments of foot through Jamaica Pass. They proceeded to shoot, carve, and roll up the northern flank of the startled American defenders.

They cut down riflemen – "assassins" – without quarter. Few Americans had bayonets, or knew how to use them. British artillery and sappers blew up the earthworks as the Hessians and Highlanders chopped down surrendering "peasants" and "vile enemies of the King." King George's veteran troops engulfed those patriots who stood up to them. With Knox's heavy guns in the wrong place, the Continental Army and militias were crushed. Only evacuation could save the army now, but if the British discovered such a move, surreptitious retreat would turn into rout and slaughter.

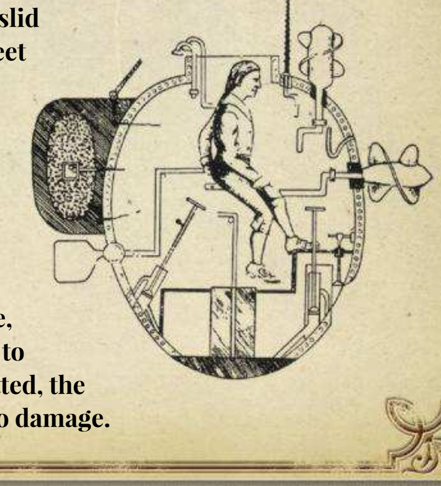
Silently, Continentals disengaged from their positions on the night of August 29. Heroically, John Glover's Marblehead sailors rowed the remaining American army and its supplies from Brooklyn to safety under cover of a rainstorm. The British awoke the next day to find they held a bloody but empty sack.


Representation du feu terrible à nouvelle Yorck, que les Americains ont allumé pendant la nuit du 19. sep
a droite de Borse, dans la rue de Broock jusqu'au collège du Roi et plus de 600. maisons avec l'Eglise de la St. Trinité
a Paris chez Basset Rue St. Jacques au coin de la rue des Math

LEFT: *Once the British occupied New York City a fire of mysterious origins broke out. It was against British interests to burn the city that housed them. Anti-Tory arsonists were suspected.*

BUSHNELL'S TURTLE

On September 7, 1776, David Bushnell slid his peach-shaped submarine, seven-feet long and four-feet wide—into New York Harbor to attack British Admiral Howe's flagship, HMS Eagle. The first attack on a warship by a submarine failed. The second attempt to screw the torpedo into the ship's wood hull worked, but the charge failed. Bushnell took his Turtle up to Fort Lee, Washington's headquarters, and tried to sink a frigate. The Turtle was spotted, the torpedo exploded, but it caused no damage.



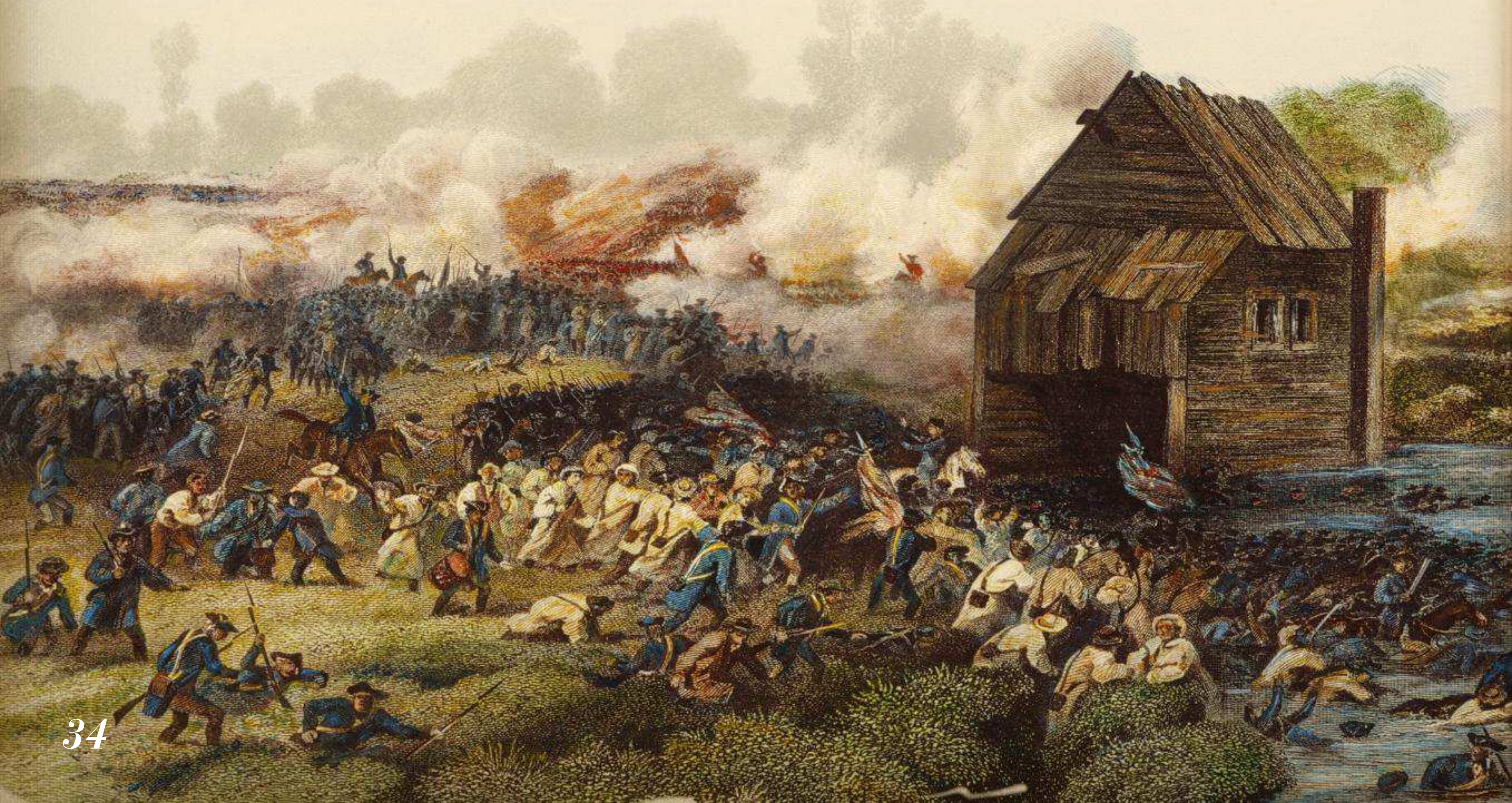
LEFT: *This map shows the British landing in New York Harbor, their advance across Long Island and their driving of the Americans north, out of the city, towards White Plains, New Jersey.*

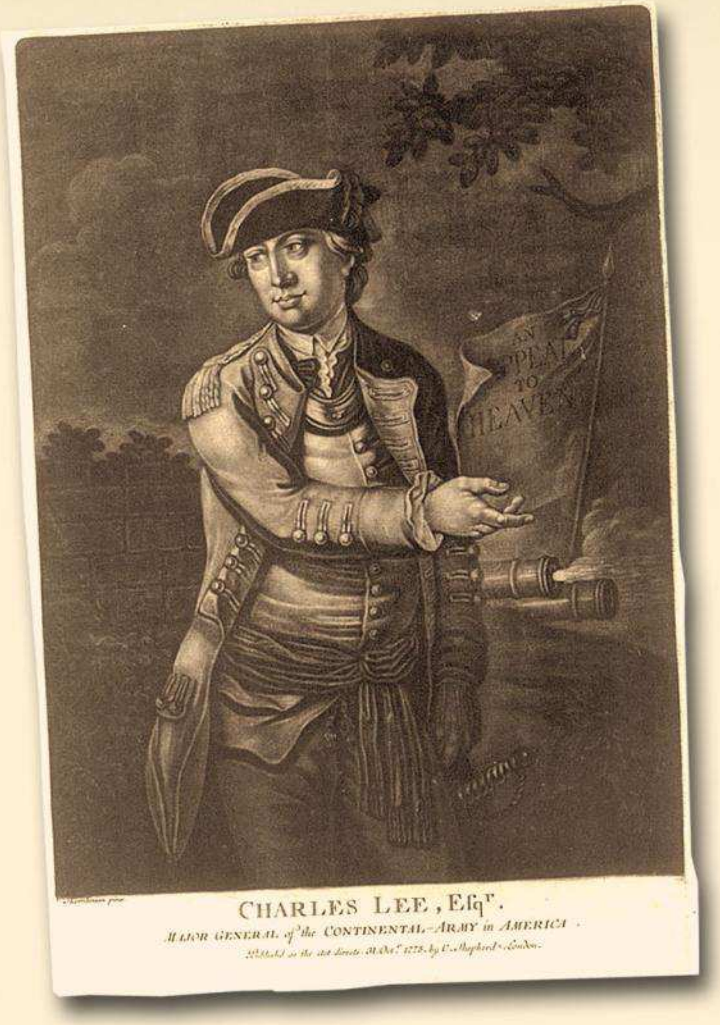
FROM NEW YORK TO THE JERSEY WOODS – WASHINGTON RETREATS

General Washington and his amateur army had been out-thought, out-fought, and almost crushed into complete surrender. Almost. While he had the bulk of his force ready to continue the retreat toward high ground at Harlem Heights, some 4,000 remained on Manhattan near the battery commanded by Israel Putnam and Henry Knox. Able to sail with impunity, British ships shelled the city and its environs. Barges of light infantry landed alongside the enthusiastic Hessians. Neither Howe, Cornwallis, nor Clinton, who had set up a headquarters in a large house on Murray Hill, thought there was any need to rush. The shabby, untutored Americans were fleeing. Let local commanders have some sport with stragglers and then rest before scooping up the rebel survivors.

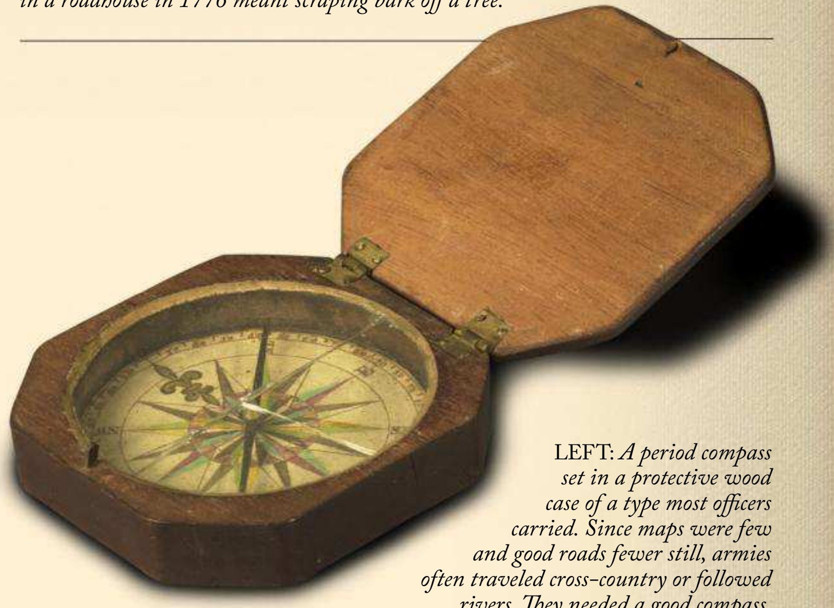
Aaron Burr found himself guiding Knox, Putnam, and their commands along a road hidden from British light infantry who were searching for them at the quick march. Screened by dense woods, the uphill trail allowed the wheezing Knox and Putnam to save their troops and avoid capture. As night closed in, the British halted and allowed the Americans to collapse in fatigue atop Harlem Heights. Surrounded by his exhausted, beaten command, Washington felt he had to hit back if only to raise spirits. Tall, lanky Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Knowlton, who had bloodied the British nose at Breed's Hill, led a picked force of 100 Connecticut Rangers out at dawn in search of the British light infantry. They made immediate contact with 400 troops and let rip a volley. Soon, the Rangers and infantry were exchanging fire, until the honking squeal of bagpipes announced the arrival of the ranks of the Black Watch. Now outnumbered, Knowlton began a fighting retreat. Smelling blood, the light infantry surged forward, followed by the kilted Scots, blowing trumpets as if in a fox hunt and jeering as they ran. Washington ordered 150 Massachusetts men of Nixon's brigade and some rawhide riflemen from the 3rd Virginia to strike the British infantry as it poured into an open field. In line abreast, not from behind walls, the Yankees drew up and blazed away. The light infantry and Black Watch troops stopped short. Now Greene and Putnam struck the fight and soon the British had 5,000 men embroiled in a bloody battle. But the Americans stood their ground. With British officers and sergeants dropping to rifle shots, and the Yankees' numbers

ABOVE: *British Officers' metal screw-barrel flintlock pistols. Barrels were threaded to unscrew at the breech to insert the ball and powder. This example was found after the battle of Breed's Hill.*




AN APPEAL TO HEAVEN
CHARLES LEE, Esqr.
MAJOR GENERAL of the CONTINENTAL-ARMY in AMERICA

LEFT: *General Charles Lee had been a British officer and expected to command the Continental Army. He ended up third in command and resented the slight. He spread rumors about Washington's lack of ability and was captured by the British in a roadhouse in 1776 meant scraping bark off a tree.*



LEFT: *A period compass set in a protective wood case of a type most officers carried. Since maps were few and good roads fewer still, armies often traveled cross-country or followed rivers. They needed a good compass.*

swelling, the redcoats broke and ran. With a "Hurrah!" the mixed lot of Americans pursued them until ordered back when British and Hessian reinforcements arrived. The victorious skirmish had restored a measure of pride to fuel the Continental Army for the long march ahead.

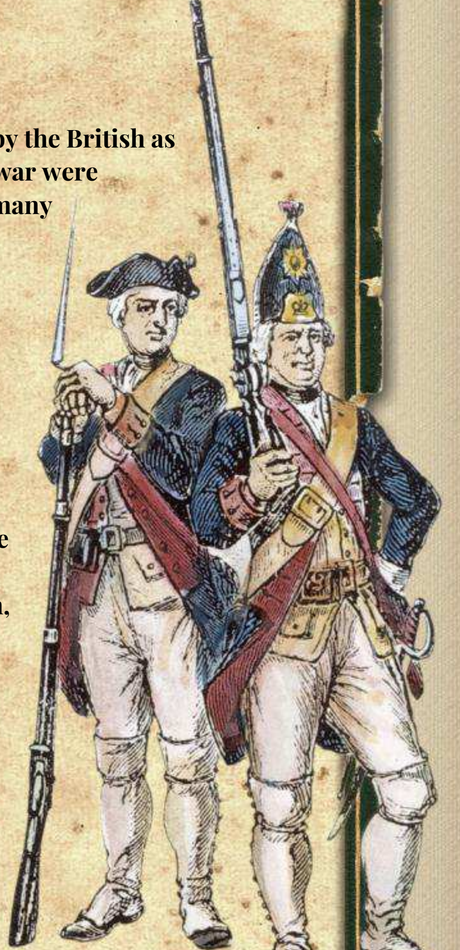
And a long, long march it was, as they were beaten again and again by the British pursuing them up the East River. White Plains, Kyp's Bay, Chatterton's Hill, Pell Point, the loss of Fort Washington and Fort Lee finishing the capture of Manhattan: each engagement added to the litany of despair for those who trudged through the blowing leaves and chill winds of fall.

General Charles Lee, Washington's mocking subordinate, had been taken by the British while dining in a tavern. His army was now far away and without its leader. Desertions whittled away the army as it settled in to winter camp near the west bank of the Delaware River. Howe had called off the chase until spring after establishing outposts in New Jersey to keep an eye on the dwindling American force. As Christmas, 1776 approached, Washington and his officers faced the daunting challenge of feeding, clothing, and sheltering what remained of the patriotic men and boys who had followed them into the snow-covered New Jersey woods.

LEFT: *The battle of Long Island showing Maryland and Delaware militias retreating across Gowanus Creek after holding back the British advance. They were outnumbered but kept the retreat as orderly as possible.*

HESSIAN SOLDIERS

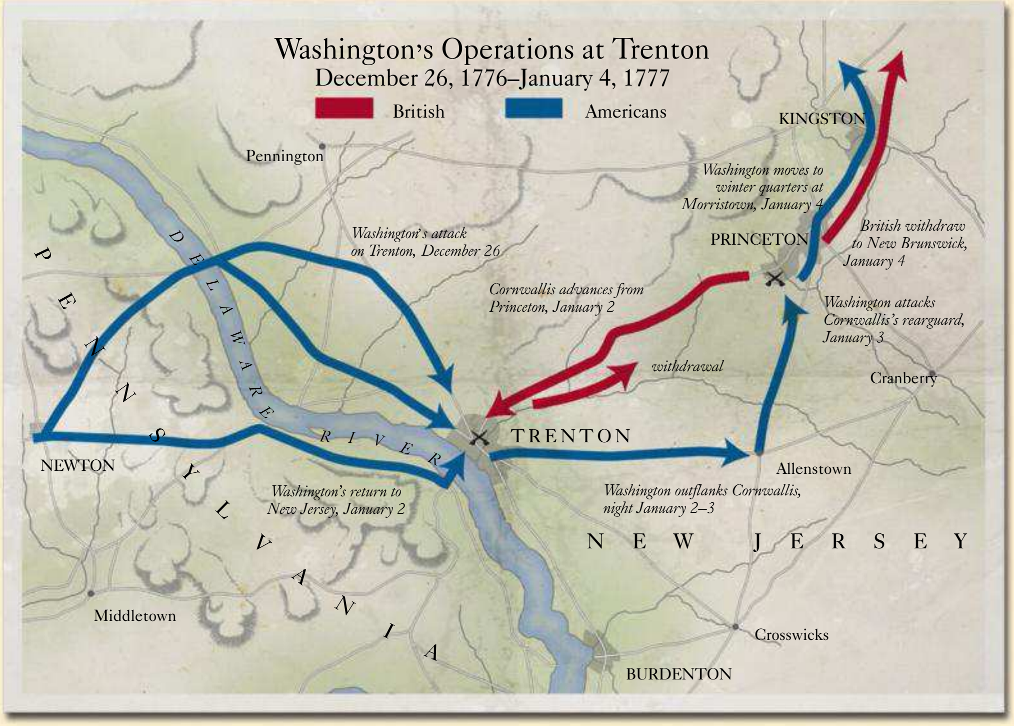
"Hessian" soldiers paid by the British as mercenaries during the war were actually recruited from many German principalities. Recruiting officers were active all over Germany. In Hesse-Cassel, the country had been cut up into districts, each of which was to furnish a quota of recruits – as many foreigners as possible in order to spare their own men. Forcible recruiting was forbidden, but spendthrifts, drunkards, and political troublemakers were often forced into the ranks. The colors of the formal uniforms made them easy targets for rebel militia dressed in homespun garb.

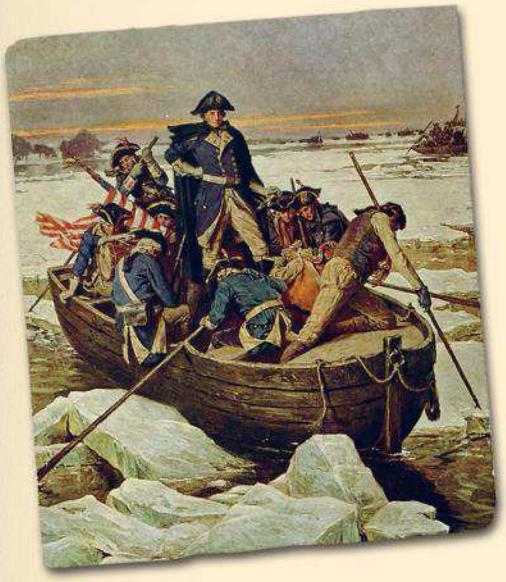


FIRST TRENTON, THEN PRINCETON 1776-1777

RIGHT: *This map shows Washington's two-pronged attack on Trenton, which caught the Hessians by surprise. It was backed up by Knox's guns and militia riflemen who covered the escape routes.*

BELOW: *In a somewhat fanciful rendering, General Washington crosses the Delaware River with his troops for the dawn attack on Trenton. Hampered by the ice and sleet, the crossing took too long, forcing the daylight battle.*


Washington's Operations at Trenton
December 26, 1776–January 4, 1777
British
Americans
KINGSTON
Pennington
Washington moves to winter quarters at Morristown, January 4
British withdraw to New Brunswick, January 4
PRINCETON
Washington's attack on Trenton, December 26
Cornwallis advances from Princeton, January 2
Washington attacks Cornwallis's rearguard, January 3
withdrawal
Cranberry
PENNSYLVANIA
DELAWARE RIVER
TRENTON
NEWTON
Allenstown
Washington's return to New Jersey, January 2
Washington outflanks Cornwallis, night January 2–3
NEW JERSEY
Middletown
Crosswicks
BURDENTON

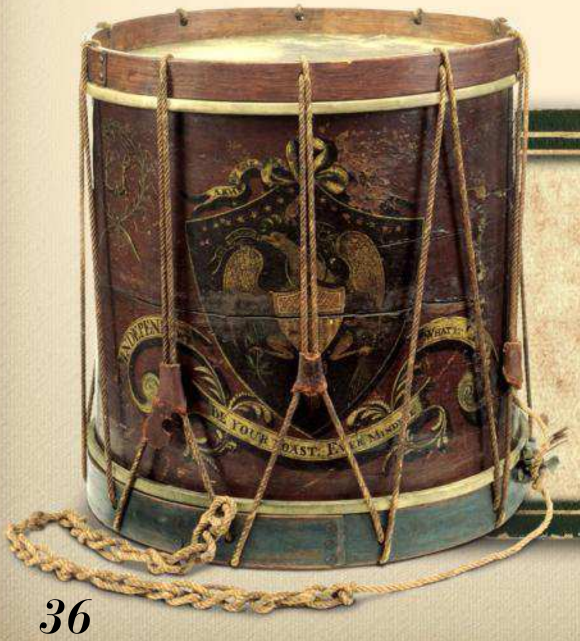


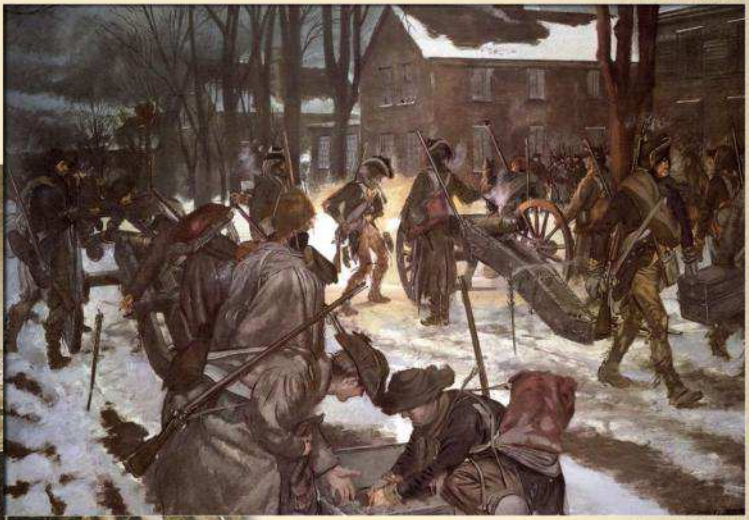
The last of the flat-bottomed Durham boats crunched against a creaking pier at McConkey's Ferry on the east bank of the Delaware River. In the early morning darkness of December 26, 1776, General Washington watched the last of his shivering men hustle ashore as John Glover's Marblehead sailor–soldiers exchanged their oars for muskets. Silver cakes of ice flowed past in the black water his army had just crossed. Weeks earlier, he had worked out the plan to strike the Hessian-occupied village of Trenton before dawn and already that plan was falling apart.

The river crossing had taken too long. His wretched army, some with rags wrapped around their feet, would face the implacable Hessians in daylight. He mounted up and trotted toward the head of the forming column, speaking to his men as he rode: "For God's sake, keep with your officers."

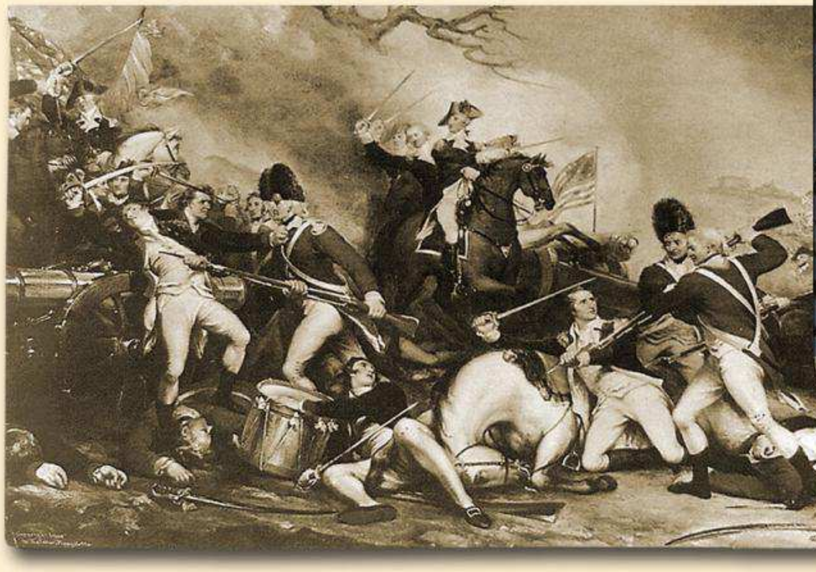
Drums and Music in Combat

Drums and fifes were not just for morale-stirring entertainment. An officer of the day always had a drummer with him – often as young as 12 years old – to sound the call for alarm, a conference of officers or the "Tattoo." This comes from the Dutch die den tap toe. Taverns must turn off their "taps" so the soldiers would return to camp. During battle, drum calls were used to change marching formations, advance, retreat, or cease-fire.





BELOW: *Washington leading his troops in the attack on Princeton made after the victory at Trenton. General Hugh Mercer died as the Americans swept over Cornwallis's rear guard.*



ABOVE: *An artillery crew in action at Trenton. A four-pounder cannon is fired into the Hessians as a ball and powder bag are retrieved from an ammunition box in the foreground. Eighteen cannon crossed the Delaware River with Washington.*

Washington planned to cross the Delaware at three points to surround the village and block Hessian escape routes. But his generals Cadwalader and Ewing had aborted their crossings due to river ice, leaving Washington's command of 2,400 men unsupported. After traveling five miles into the teeth of a sleet storm, Nathanael Greene and Washington took the ice-slick Pennington Road, while General Sullivan continued to follow the River Road. Four artillery pieces led each column. The sky gradually lightened to a gray, snow-filled overcast as they trudged the last four miles in silence.

The Hessians had been warned of the attack, but doubted the Americans' ability. "If they attack," shrugged General Johann Gottlieb Rall, their commander, "we will give them the bayonet." That morning, while playing cards, he had received a note from a Loyalist and, somewhat foolishly, put it in his pocket unopened. So he missed its message: "The rebels have crossed the Delaware to attack Trenton." At 8 a.m., Greene's men emerged from the woods and faced across a field toward warm houses filled with hot food, blankets, and the hated Hessians. Soaked and freezing, squinting into the cutting sleet that morning, they surged forward in a rushing run called the "long trot."

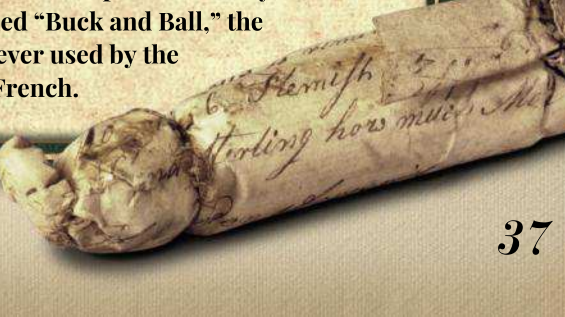
"Heraus! Heraus!" cried the Hessian pickets, as German soldiers piled out of their beds. As the Hessians tried to form up, Henry Knox bellowed "Fire!" and a round of solid shot slammed into their ranks. Sullivan's and Knox's artillery swept the stunned Germans from the main streets, while those who retreated to side streets faced hard-charging Continentals firing as they ran.

General Rall tried to rally his men, but fell mortally wounded. Bridges, streets, a nearby apple orchard – all were enfiladed by American fire. Forty-five minutes after the attack began, the Hessians surrendered, leaving 21 dead in the snow, 90 wounded, and 900 as prisoners. No American had been killed in combat, and only four men were wounded. "The troops behaved like men contending for everything that was dear and valuable," wrote Henry Knox. General Washington granted the men "who crossed the river" a cash equivalent of the spoils seized from the Hessians. Congress was ecstatic. The army savored victory for a day and then re-crossed the Delaware River.

Shocked into action, Howe sent Cornwallis in pursuit. Again, Washington proved elusive. Decamping at night in front of Cornwallis, the Americans swung around and hit the British rear guard at Princeton. This time, Washington was in the thick of it. Men cheered as he galloped past them, chasing the fleeing British and calling out, "It's a fine fox chase my boys!"

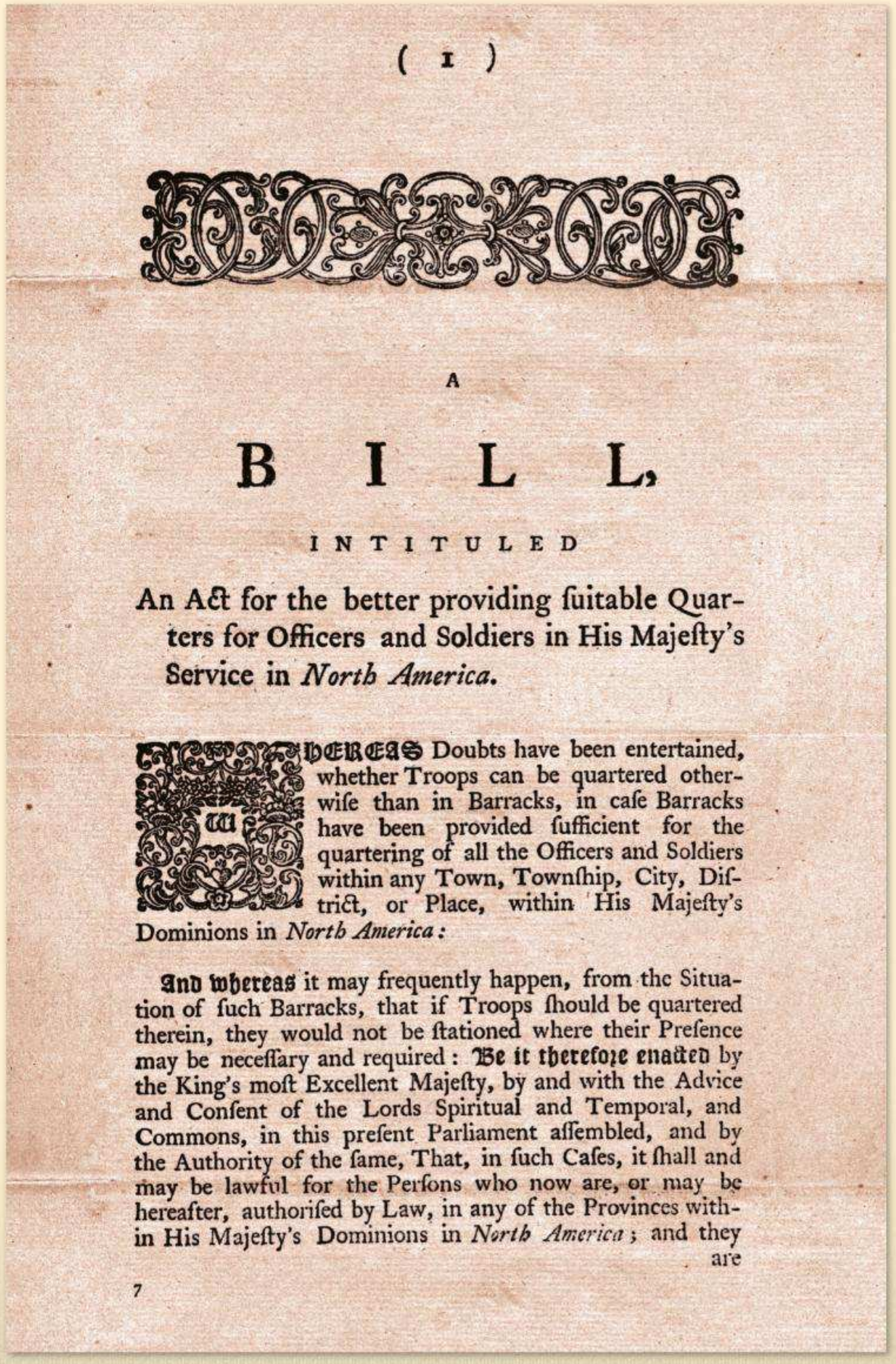
"BUCK AND BALL" FOR CONTINENTAL MUSKETS

In battles between British regulars and Continental troops, the standard weapon was the smoothbore musket. Usually, the hopelessly inaccurate long flintlocks were discharged en masse on command and reloaded as quickly as possible for the next volley. In 1777, however, George Washington authorized the use of one .69 caliber ball and three .31 caliber buckshot in each musket load to increase the power of every American volley. Called "Buck and Ball," the load was never used by the British or French.



QUARTERING ACT

BELOW: This page introduces the Quartering Act of 1774, which allowed British officers to quarter their troops in private homes or outbuildings if no barracks were available. This measure continued the Quartering Act of 1765.



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A

B I L L,

INTITULED

An Act for the better providing ſuitable Quarters for Officers and Soldiers in His Majeſty's Service in *North America*.

WHEREAS Doubts have been entertained, whether Troops can be quartered otherwiſe than in Barracks, in caſe Barracks have been provided ſufficient for the quartering of all the Officers and Soldiers within any Town, Townſhip, City, Diſtrict, or Place, within His Majeſty's Dominions in *North America*:

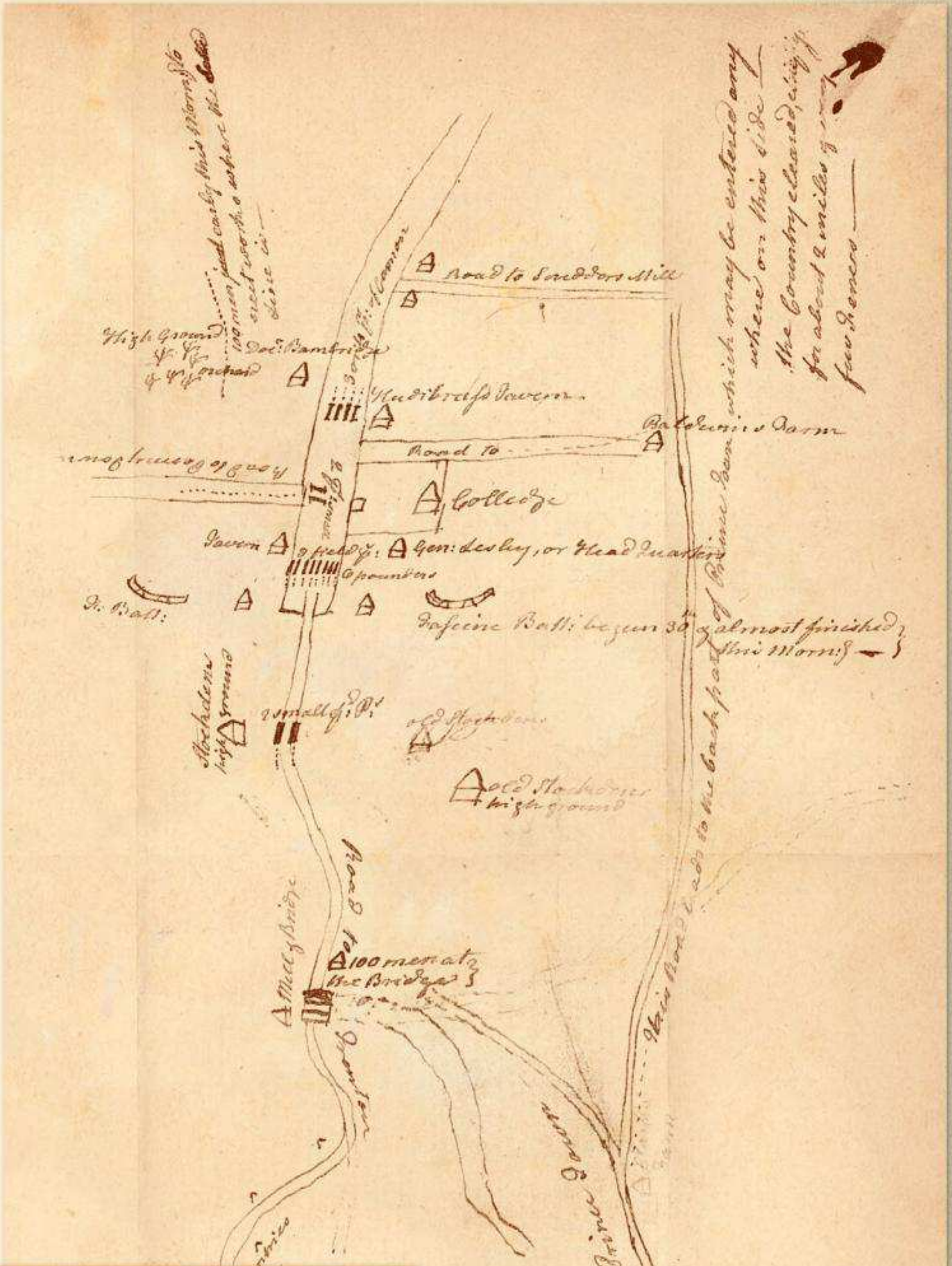
And whereas it may frequently happen, from the Situation of ſuch Barracks, that if Troops ſhould be quartered therein, they would not be ſtationed where their Preſence may be neceſſary and required: **Be it therefore enacted** by the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, by and with the Advice and Conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, That, in ſuch Caſes, it ſhall and may be lawful for the Perſons who now are, or may be hereafter, authoriſed by Law, in any of the Provinces within His Majeſty's Dominions in *North America*; and they

are

7

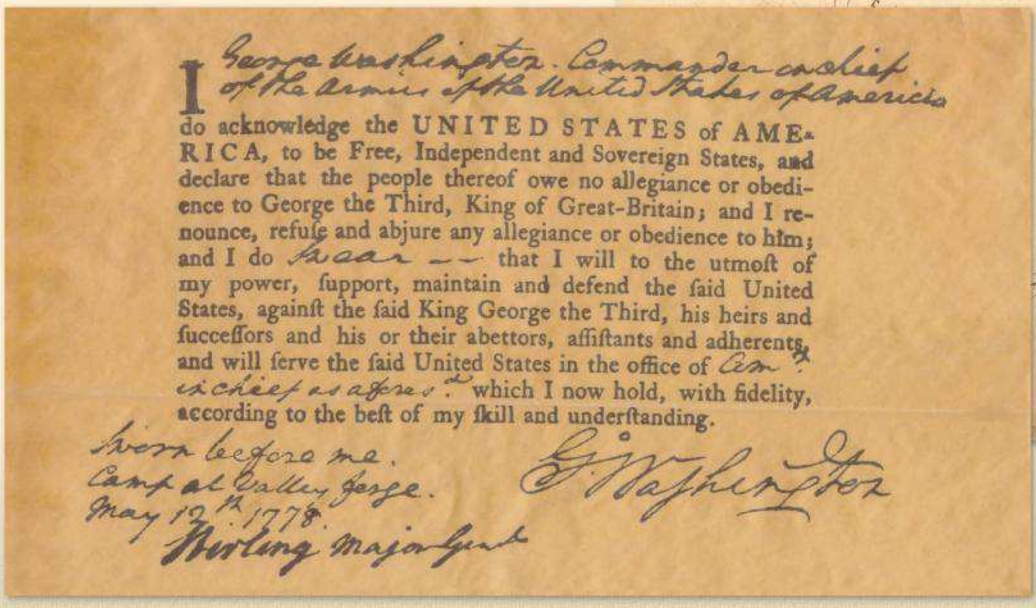
PRINCETON MAP

RIGHT: This hand-drawn map of "Prince Town" (Princeton) shows General Washington the layout of buildings and position of British six-pounder cannon batteries. It was prepared by a patriot spy for Washington's attack on Cornwallis's rear guard following the American victory at Trenton.


Road to Snedders Mill
High Ground
Hudibrass Tavern
Baldwins Farm
Road to
College
Tavern
Gen: Lesley, or Head Quarters
6 pounders
Fascine Batt: begun 30th & almost finished this Morning
Road to
100 men at the Bridge
Mill & Bridge
Road to Prince Town
Road to Brunswick
which may be entered any where on this side the Country clear, being for about 2 miles a few fences

DECLARATION FIRST DRAFT

BELOW: Thomas Jefferson's first draft of the Declaration of Independence contains scratch outs, marginal comments by John Adams and Benjamin Franklin and revisions that demonstrate their collaboration of ideas. The concepts are not new, but their combined application added up to treason against the Crown.



I George Washington. Commander in chief of the armies of the United States of America do acknowledge the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, to be Free, Independent and Sovereign States, and declare that the people thereof owe no allegiance or obedience to George the Third, King of Great-Britain; and I renounce, refuſe and abjure any allegiance or obedience to him; and I do swear — that I will to the utmoſt of my power, ſupport, maintain and defend the ſaid United States, againſt the ſaid King George the Third, his heirs and ſucceſſors and his or their abettors, aſſiſtants and adherents, and will ſerve the ſaid United States in the office of Comr. in chief as aforesd. which I now hold, with fidelity, according to the beſt of my ſkill and underſtanding.

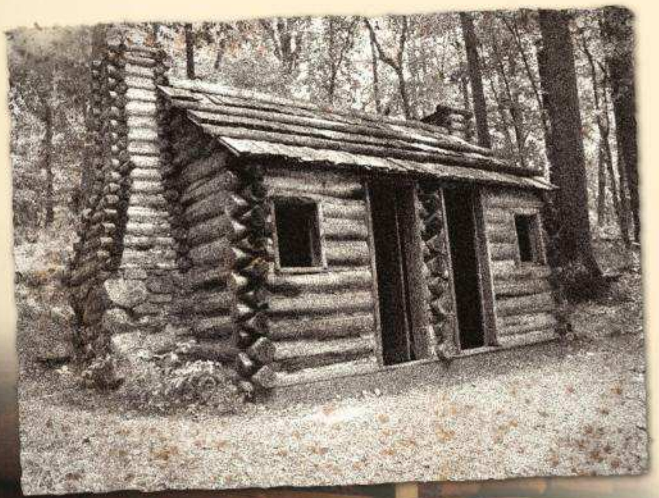
Sworn before me.
Camp at Valley forge.
May 12th 1778.
Stirling Major Genl

G. Washington

WINTER QUARTERS AT MORRISTOWN 1776-1777

As the winter of 1776-77 closed down hostilities, the ragged and exhausted Continental Army shambled into the woods surrounding Morristown, New Jersey, and established their encampment. Except for occasional raids and skirmishes, 18th Century warfare generally took a winter time-out.

The expense of maintaining an army in the field was highly prohibitive considering the reduced capabilities of that force due to winter's effect on roads, fields, communications, and morale. Powder became damp in the flintlock's pan, slow matches (cotton wick soaked in lye) failed to stay alight for artillery. Paper-wrapped cartridges became sodden in their boxes. Winter was a time to rest, refit, and take stock.



General Howe retired to New York to pick up his busy social life after the shock of Trenton and Princeton. Word of those sallies failed to rock Parliament in London, which considered the capture of General Charles Lee a great coup de guerre, because he was a real commanding officer, not a jumped-up colonel of militia. The American army, it believed, was finished and could be bagged at leisure in the spring.

The land around Morristown had broad fields and plenty of timber to build 14 by 16 foot mud-caulked log huts large enough to house 12 men in each with a fireplace. Other troops were housed in private homes, three or four to a house. With inducements of pay and heartfelt appeals, Washington had persuaded many soldiers whose enlistments were up to remain. He was determined to maintain discipline and orderly routine in the camp. The construction of a fortification near the town began and required considerable labor. It was dubbed "Fort Nonsense" and while it became a supply depot, many considered it a "make-work" project.

Smallpox brought by the soldiers killed a quarter of Morristown's population. Sanitation and barnyard notions of cleanliness ensured illness and contagion affected this and future winter encampments. The most common sound heard among the huts and on the parade

LEFT: *This replica of a soldier's hut built at Morristown, New Jersey, is designed to hold two officers. Each hut had its own entrance and fireplace.*

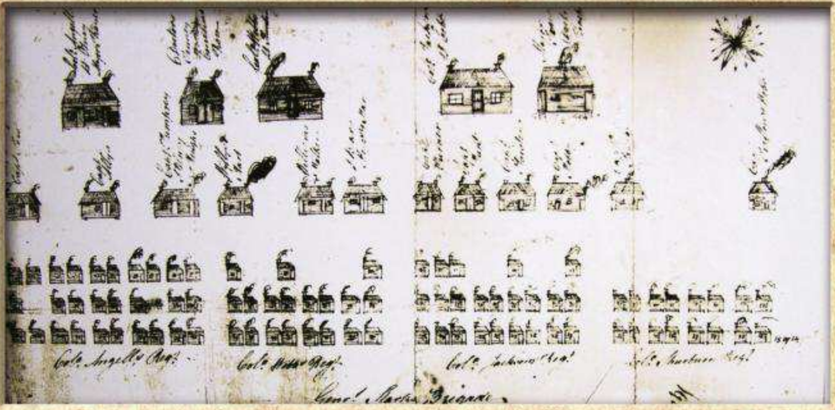
INSIDE MORRISTOWN WINTER CAMP

The winter camp at Morristown, New Jersey, faced dysentery, rheumatism, and assorted "fevers" associated with bad food, housing, and hygiene, but then smallpox threatened to run rampant through the ranks and the town. A program of inoculation was begun. Washington wrote the Governor of Connecticut, "Inoculation at Philadelphia and in this Neighbourhood has been attended with amazing Success and I have not the least doubt but your Troops will meet the same." Inoculation was also begun at recruiting centers.

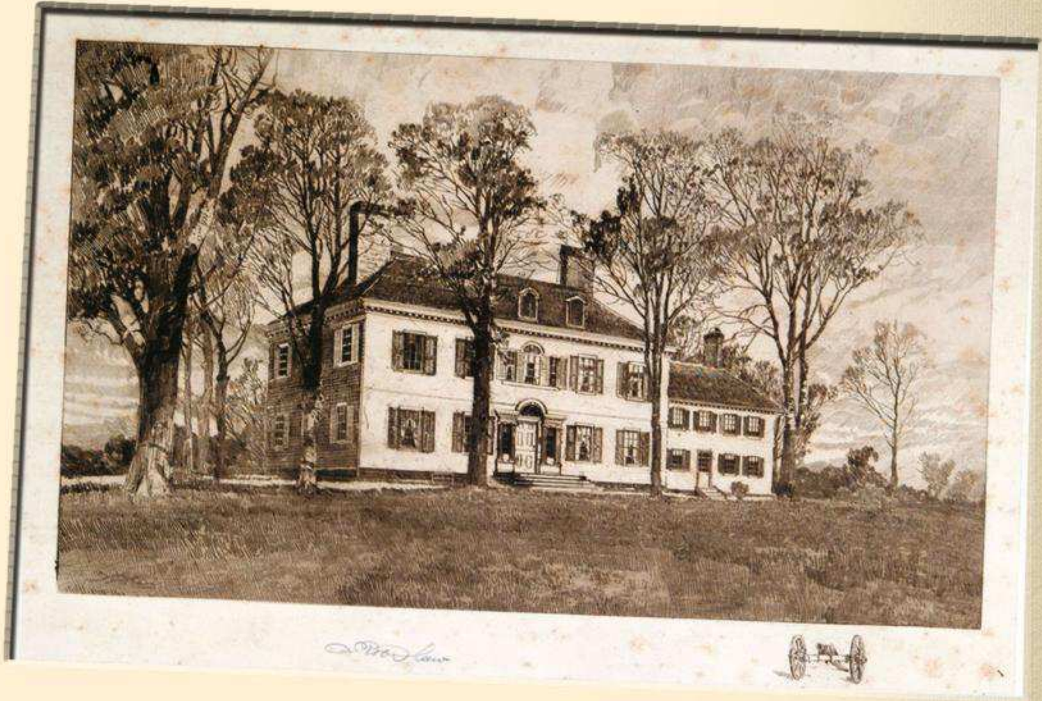
LEFT: *Interior of a soldier's hut at Morristown, New Jersey, built from original sketches and descriptions. It held 12 men and their belongings. All meals were cooked in the hut as well.*

LIFE IN WASHINGTON'S MORRISTOWN HQ

The disparity between the crowded huts of the troops in winter camp and the general staff officers' billet at the elegant Ford home in Morristown was necessitated by the administrative needs of the army. Washington's orders had to be hand-copied by a staff of aides. Rooms were needed for conferences and housing for servants. Visiting observers from European countries brought their entourage and needed rooms. And, of course, there had to be room for the Fords and Martha Washington.



> *" THESE ARE TIMES THAT TRY MENS' SOULS. THE SUMMER SOLDIERS AND THE SUNSHINE PATRIOT WILL, IN THIS CRISIS, SHRINK FROM THE SERVICE OF THEIR COUNTRY; BUT HE THAT STANDS IT NOW, DESERVES THE LOVE AND THANKS OF MAN AND WOMAN."*
>
> Thomas Paine
> The American Crisis, 1776



RIGHT: *The imposing Ford mansion, built 1772–74 on a hill in Morristown, was headquarters for General Washington and his staff. The elegant home was needed for visiting dignitaries and their entourage.*

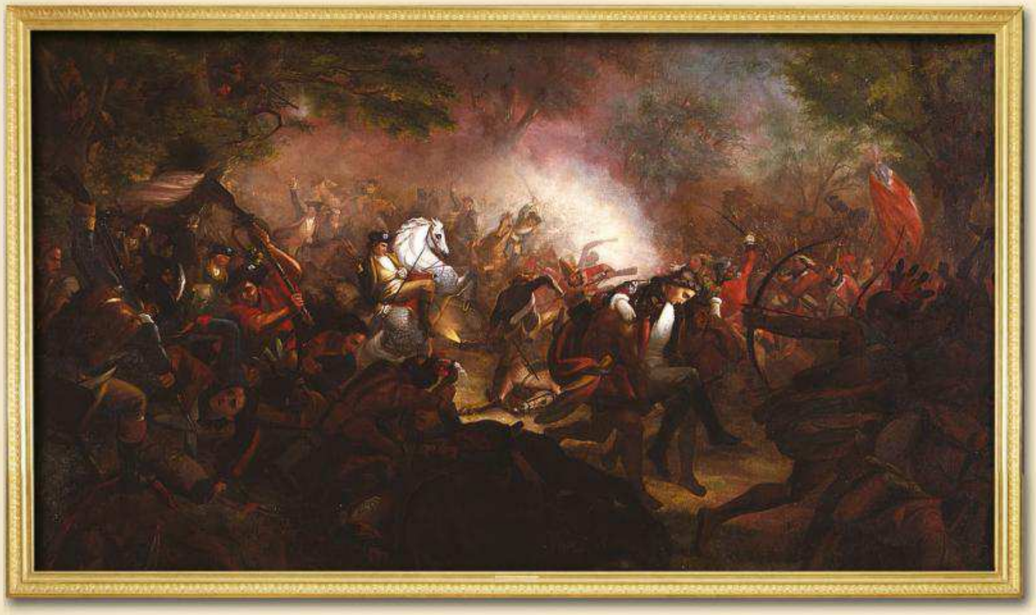
ground was the hacking cough. Throughout the war more men would die of disease and infection than from fatal combat wounds

At first, food was a problem. Riflemen scoured the countryside for small game, while shotgunners prowled meadows and fallow cornfields. Buoyed by the recent victories, Congress granted Washington the right to commandeer supplies as needed and camp life improved. One day, wagons from the brig Mercury arrived, bringing supplies from Nantes, France. They carried bales of clothing, shoes, 364 cases of arms, 11,000 gunflints, and 1,000 barrels of gunpowder from the mills of Lavoisier. Thirty-four more loaded ships were gathering sail from French ports. Diplomatic and commercial discussions with France were paying off.

Washington and his staff quartered in the Arnold Tavern, just off Morristown Green. The constant flow of paperwork required aides-de-camp and secretaries to have a working office space. George was fortunate to have his wife, Martha visit. She radiated a good cheer that was infectious to the men. Later, during the winter of 1779-80, the General's staff moved into the Morristown mansion formerly owned by militia commander Colonel Jacob Ford Jr., who had died campaigning in 1777. The staff lived with the Ford family and was host to a constant visitation by foreign attachés and observers with their retinues.

The winter of 1776-77 proved the Continental Army had a strong, resourceful, and resilient core. Though it still suffered weaknesses of leadership, inexperience with military tactical execution, and a continuing disparity between regular army and militia effectiveness in the field, the army that marched into the spring of 1777 was ready to take the fight to the British once again.

THE FATEFUL DEFEAT OF "GENTLEMAN JOHNNY" BURGOYNE



ABOVE: *The Battle of Freeman's Farm near Saratoga, New York, shows Benedict Arnold on the white horse leading American troops, while British General Simon Fraser is carried from the field.*

The curiosity that had attended General Howe's departure from New York on July 23, 1777, in frigates herding transports packed with thousands of British and Hessians was answered at last. The fleet itself arrived in Chesapeake Bay on August 22, 1777, just a mere 6 or so miles away from Philadelphia.

Meanwhile, the 6,000-strong Continental Army threaded its way through Philadelphia, swinging in step to the tunes of fife and drum toward the invading redcoats amid cheers, and waving hats and kerchiefs. Howe landed his force and stepped off in the direction of Philadelphia. Both armies headed toward a confrontation at a picturesque little creek called Brandywine.

Earlier, on May 6, General John Burgoyne had arrived in Quebec to command a force that eventually amounted to 7,213 soldiers and scouts, which was to march south from Canada to join with General Howe, crushing the Americans between them. That was the plan as General Burgoyne understood it. His force comprised two columns made up of British and German troops, along with Loyalist scouts, 400 Indian scouts, plus 42 pieces of artillery for each column.

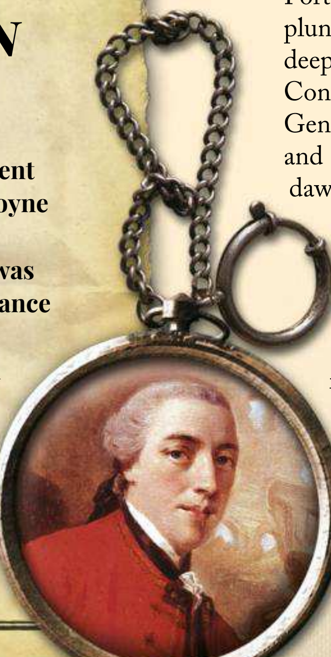
The expedition sailed across Lake Champlain and easily captured Fort Ticonderoga. In high spirits, the clever and confident Burgoyne plunged his troops into the American wilderness of dirt trails, deep ravines, dense woods, and wrecked bridges left by retreating Continentals. These delays allowed even the phlegmatic American General Horatio Gates to gather his forces. Eventually, the British and German columns arrived at the open fields of Freeman's Farm at dawn on September 19.

British skirmishers moved forward toward the south edge of the woods 350 yards distant. They never saw the long Kentucky rifle muzzles poke out from the bushes. They heard instead what sounded like a turkey gobble. The rifles blazed and every officer among the skirmishers fell. The British returned fire at a hopeless range. After a pause, a second rifle volley ripped from the trees. Sergeants dropped and privates collapsed. The hidden riflemen, commanded by General Daniel Morgan, rushed from cover with whoops and yells. The British stood firm and produced a wall of bayonets. The riflemen turned and ran back to the woods. The battle of Freeman's Farm had begun.

Morgan's riflemen picked off cannoneers, sent gunnery officers sprawling, and riddled Burgoyne's coat and hat with holes. With battle-hardened fortitude, the British held their

GENERAL JOHN BURGOYNE

One of the more flamboyant generals sent to quell the colonies' revolt, John Burgoyne (1722-1792) was outspoken and a non-conformist in his views. His marriage was an elopement, after which he fled to France to avoid debts. "Gentleman Johnny's" military career began with observation of the attack on Breed's Hill and ended with his brilliantly conceived, but poorly executed, attack that ended with surrender at Saratoga. He left the army to write plays and enjoy a literary life.

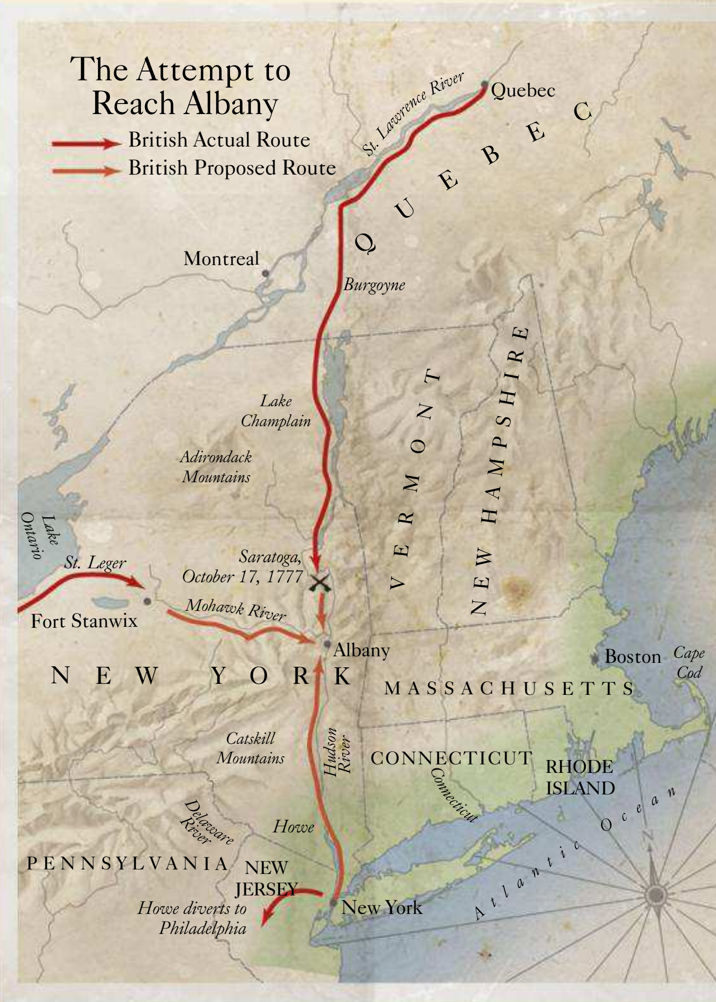


ground, but each day it seemed that more Yankee troops joined the fight on all sides. Up river, along Burgoyne's line of march, General John Stark cut the British river-borne supply line. Out of nowhere, Major General Benedict Arnold arrived and seemed to be everywhere, leading charges and rolling up defenses. For the besieged British and Germans to continue forward was impossible; and then General Stark sealed the road that led back north. After 28 days of bloody combat – the Battle of Saratoga – with his men hungry and being cut to pieces by unrelenting American fire, "Gentleman Johnny" had no choice. On October 17, Burgoyne's army laid down their arms. From his distant headquarters, General Gates arrived at the battlefield to accept the surrender and treated Burgoyne like visiting royalty.

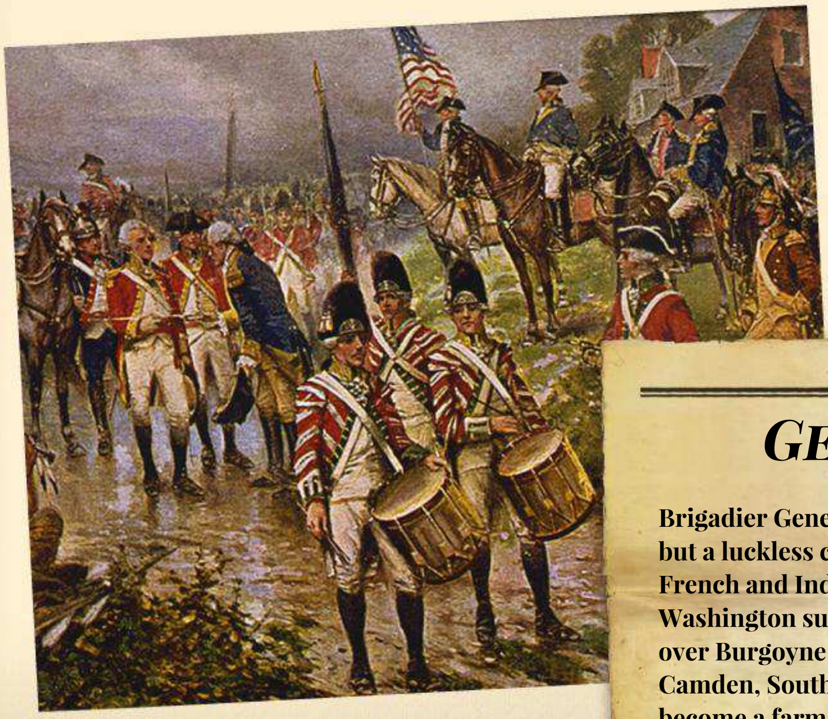
> *" THE FORTUNE OF WAR, GENERAL GATES, HAS MADE ME YOUR PRISONER."*
>
> General John Burgoyne
> Sept 16, 1777

In the south, General Howe, who never had any intention of joining up with Burgoyne, won a hard-fought battle with Washington's army at Brandywine Creek on 11 September. But the Americans managed to retreat once again with their army intact. Congress fled Philadelphia before Howe moved in for the winter. This time Congress settled in the small town of York. There, the lawmakers continued work on a document called the Articles of Confederation. Most important, however, Burgoyne's defeat led France to shift from logistical support toward a full military and political alliance with this new United States of America.

BELOW: *General Burgoyne had devised a two-pronged assault, traveling south from Lake Champlain to meet with General Howe coming North. Howe, however, occupied Philadelphia instead and Burgoyne overreached his supply line.*


The Attempt to Reach Albany
British Actual Route
British Proposed Route
St. Lawrence River
Quebec
QUEBEC
Montreal
Burgoyne
Lake Champlain
Adirondack Mountains
VERMONT
NEW HAMPSHIRE
Lake Ontario
St. Leger
Saratoga, October 17, 1777
Fort Stanwix
Mohawk River
Albany
Boston
Cape Cod
NEW YORK
MASSACHUSETTS
Catskill Mountains
Hudson River
CONNECTICUT
Connecticut
RHODE ISLAND
Delaware River
Howe
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW JERSEY
Howe diverts to Philadelphia
New York
Atlantic Ocean

LEFT: *General Burgoyne surrenders to General Horatio Gates, who had little to do with the actual battle. Daniel Morgan and Benedict Arnold were the battlefield commanders.*



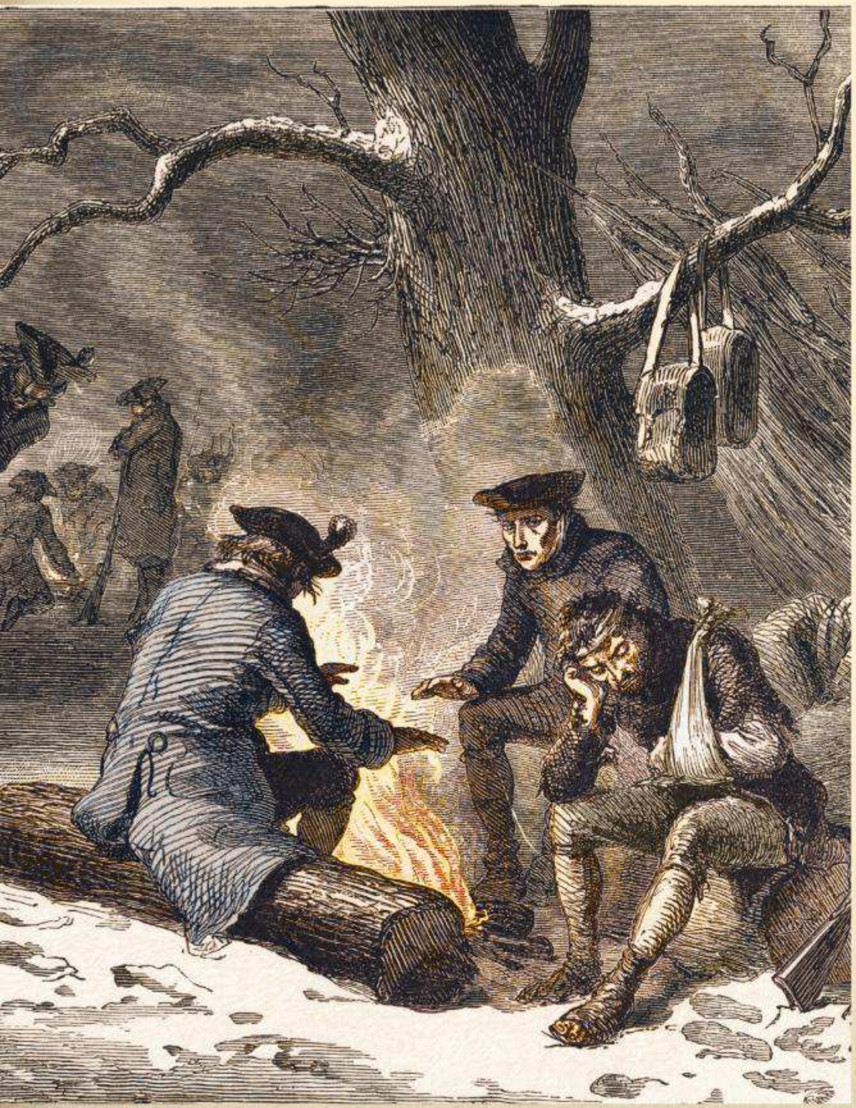
GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Brigadier General Horatio Gates (1727-1806) was an excellent administrator, but a luckless commander. He began his career as a British soldier in the French and Indian War and afterwards moved himself and family to Virginia. Washington suggested he join the militia. His ambition was fired by the victory over Burgoyne at Saratoga, but that was followed by a rout of his troops near Camden, South Carolina, in 1780. He later married a rich widow and retired to become a farmer.

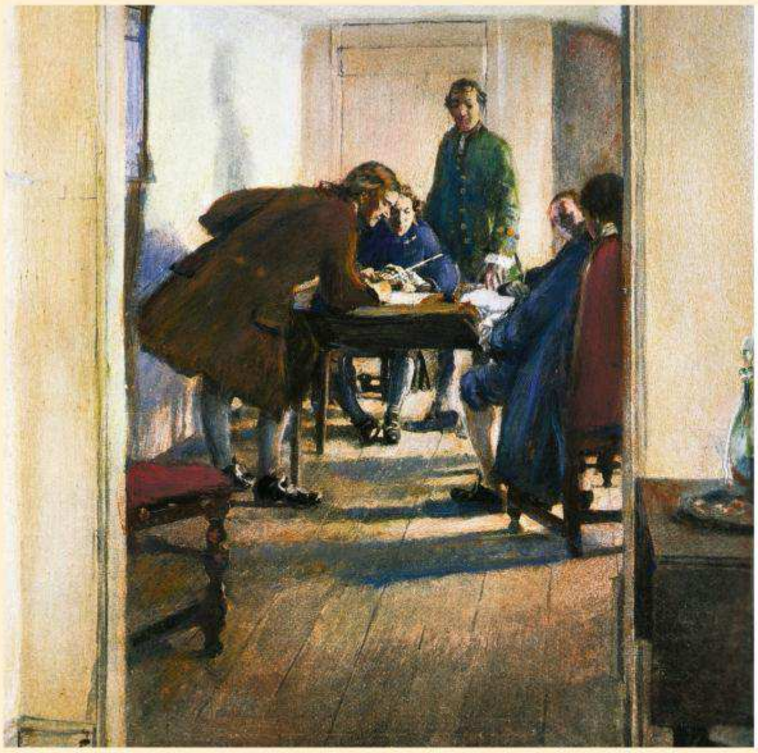
ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

While the articles sounded good on paper, the reality was fraught with conflicting priorities and points of view. After years of living under what they considered a tyrannical central Crown government, the state legislators and delegates to Congress had little appetite for the idea of giving up their rights to some misguided melting pot of other states' interests. So, while the congressional delegates debated and made demands which, in varying degrees, would ensure the retention of their individual sovereignty, the Declaration of Independence committee, under Thomas Jefferson, obtained the necessary approvals for states' signatures by July 4, 1776.

BELOW: *American troops keeping warm during December 1777 at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, as Congress struggled to feed, house, and clothe them.*



BELOW: *In 1773 Thomas Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, and Francis Lightfoot meet at the Raven Tavern to establish the Committee of Correspondence.*



THOMAS JEFFERSON: AN INTELLECT WRAPPED IN ENIGMA

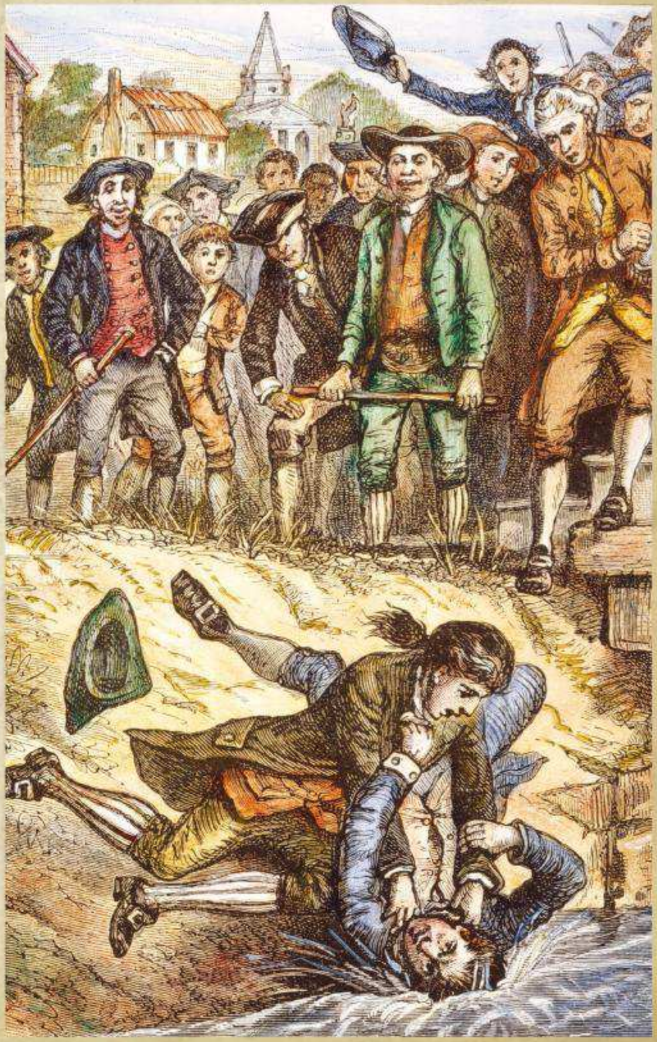
The Virginian Thomas Jefferson, born April 13, 1743, was not a brilliant orator, yet he is the acknowledged author of the Declaration of Independence. An accomplished scholar, he spoke five languages, was a gifted writer, inventor, philosopher, and naturalist, and assembled a collection of books that became the embryonic Library of Congress. During the revolution, and later as the Constitution was being debated, he served the country as an ambassador in France, and served as the nation's third president from 1801 to 1809.

DANIEL SHAY SAVES THE U.S.A.

In 1786, a mob of disgruntled farmers staged "a little rebellion," as described by Thomas Jefferson while at a safe distance in Paris. This band of angry tax dodgers also managed to save the fragile United States from itself. Daniel Shay, a Revolutionary War veteran from Pelham, who fought at Ticonderoga, Bunker Hill, and Saratoga, assumed leadership of these Massachusetts farmers who felt they were footing an unjustly onerous tax bill so their state could balance its budget.

In August, mobs of indignant taxpayers closed the courts of several towns such as Pittsfield and Northampton. Following Shay, they marched to the capitol at Springfield to present their grievances to the legislature. Seeing this mob turn up on their doorstep, the resident lawmakers sent for local troops. Shay and his followers stormed the arsenal to arm themselves and battle was joined. The state militia killed three of the protestors with cannon shot, routing the farmers and ending the rebellion.

The story did not end there. This dustup reached many state halls of government and the cry of "liberty gone mad!" went up. Even George Washington remarked, "We are fast verging on anarchy and confusion!" The general lesson seemed to be that liberty had become invitation to home rule, and a stronger central government was needed to keep a firm hand on the fledgling American ship in its labored process of creating a new state.



RIGHT: *A colored nineteenth-century engraving illustrates a fight outside the courthouse at Springfield between opposing factions in Shay's Rebellion.*

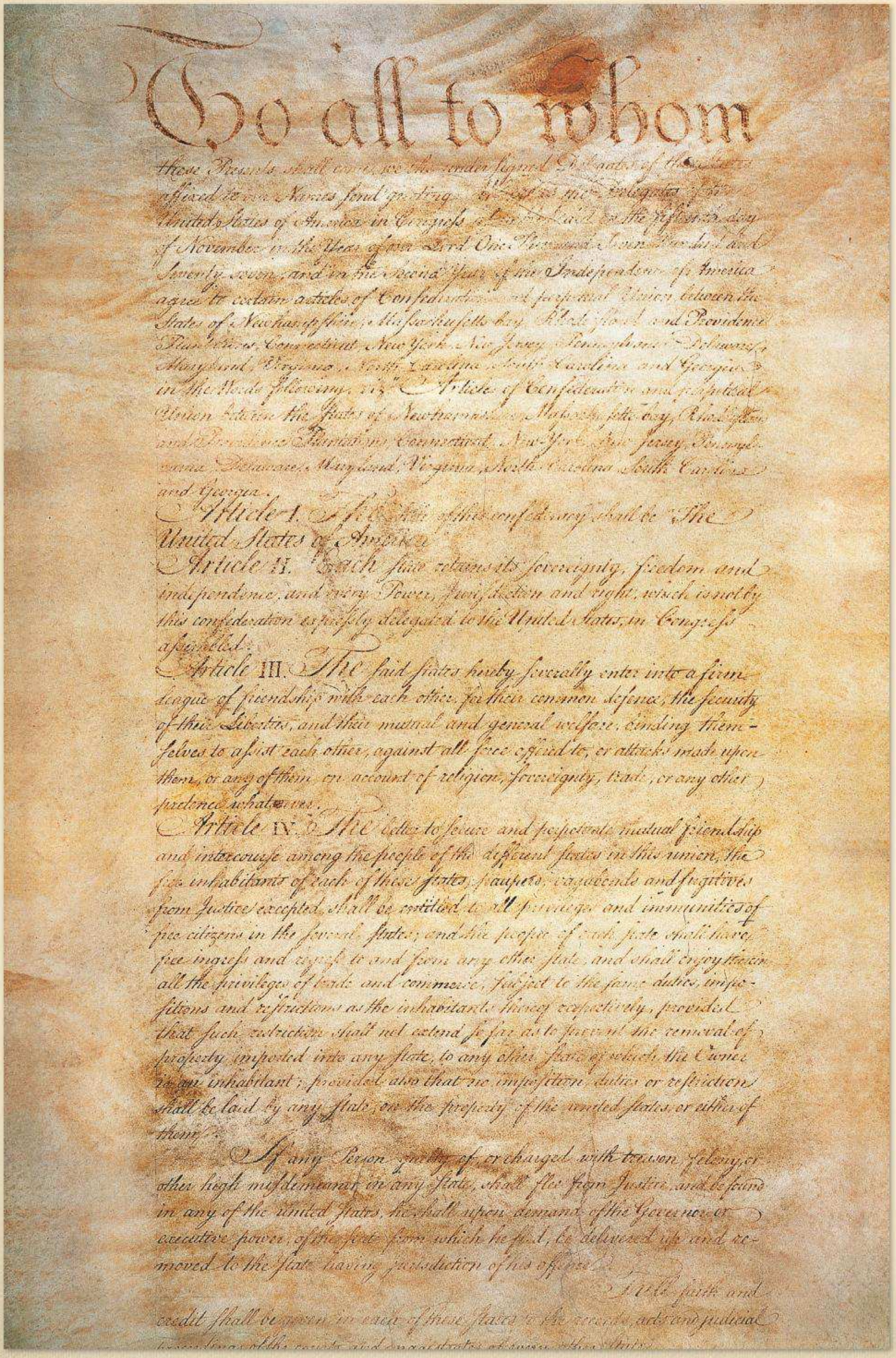
That same day, unfortunately, John Dickinson's draft of the National Constitution (later known as the Articles of Confederation) received virtually no support. To make matters worse, the undeterred British had returned.

While the Royal Navy ships of the line pounded New York City, disgorged crack infantry and marines, artillery and Highlanders while double-timing across Long Island, the Congress of the United States packed its bags and spare wigs and ran for their lives. By November 1777, as they began their seven-year war on the run, they had cobbled together a workable Articles of Confederation for their home legislatures to consider.

The government-on-the-run continued to revise the articles until 1781, slowed mostly by some states' land disputes which carried on during the war and in the years directly after. These "landed states" had extended their western borders well past the original surveyed boundaries, back to the Mississippi River and edging up to Spanish Louisiana. By 1787, however, Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, New York, and Connecticut relinquished their claims, given that the newly formed articles allowed each state only one vote, and size didn't matter. With these articles having been begrudgingly ratified, states began printing their own money, creating their own trade tariffs, and requiring foreign governments to present credentials to each state legislature in order to be recognized as a trading and diplomatic partner of that state.

The Articles of Confederation were considered a "league of friendship" – a club of sorts with individual members, each with a personal agenda. Article Two defined the distribution of power: "Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every Power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled."

Each state also raised its own militia, mostly a ragged collection of volunteers handling a mix of shoulder weapons, from captured British Brown Bess muskets to Kentucky long rifles. They elected their own officers and came and went from the ranks as the planting seasons demanded they return home.



To all to whom

theſe Preſents ſhall come we the underſigned Delegates of the States affixed to our Names ſend greeting. Whereas the Delegates of the United States of America in Congreſs aſsembled did on the fifteenth day of November in the Year of our Lord One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Seventy ſeven, and in the Second Year of the Independence of America agree to certain articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the States of Newhampſhire, Maſsachuſetts bay, Rhode-iſland and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia in the Words following, viz. "Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the States of Newhampſhire, Maſsachuſetts bay, Rhode-iſland and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia.

Article I. The Stile of this confederacy ſhall be "The United States of America."

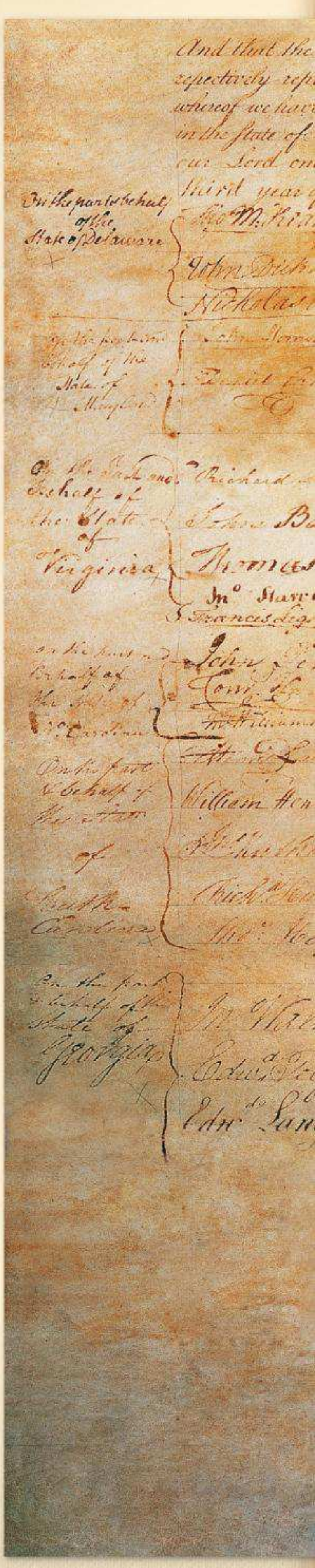
Article II. Each ſtate retains its ſovereignty, freedom and independence, and every Power, Juriſdiction and right, which is not by this confederation expreſsly delegated to the United States, in Congreſs aſsembled.

Article III. The ſaid ſtates hereby ſeverally enter into a firm league of friendſhip with each other, for their common defence, the ſecurity of their Liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themſelves to aſsiſt each other, againſt all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, ſovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

Article IV. The better to ſecure and perpetuate mutual friendſhip and intercourſe among the people of the different ſtates in this union, the free inhabitants of each of theſe ſtates, paupers, vagabonds and fugitives from Juſtice excepted, ſhall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the ſeveral ſtates; and the people of each ſtate ſhall have free ingreſs and regreſs to and from any other ſtate, and ſhall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, ſubject to the ſame duties, impoſitions and reſtrictions as the inhabitants thereof reſpectively, provided that ſuch reſtriction ſhall not extend ſo far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any ſtate, to any other ſtate of which the Owner is an inhabitant; provided alſo that no impoſition, duties or reſtriction ſhall be laid by any ſtate, on the property of the united ſtates, or either of them.

If any Perſon guilty of, or charged with treaſon, felony, or other high miſdemeanor in any ſtate, ſhall flee from Juſtice, and be found in any of the united ſtates, he ſhall upon demand of the Governor or executive power, of the ſtate from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the ſtate having juriſdiction of his offence.

Full faith and credit ſhall be given in each of theſe ſtates to the records, acts and judicial



And that the
reſpectively rep
whereof we hav
in the ſtate of
our Lord on
third year

On the part & behalf of the State of Delaware
Tho M:Kean
John Dick
Nicholas

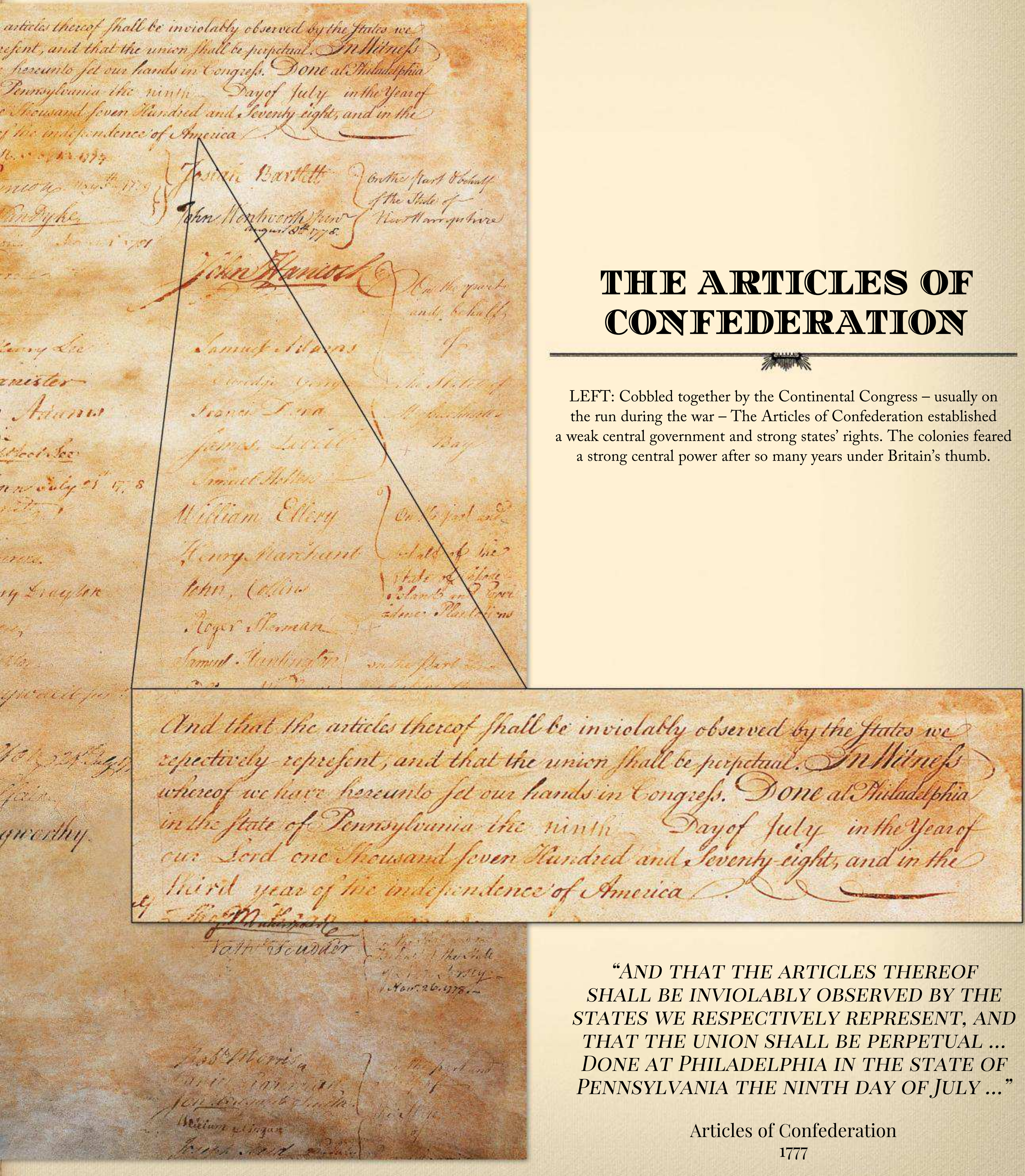
On the part and behalf of the State of Maryland
John Han
Daniel Car

On the Part and Behalf of the State of Virginia
Richard
John Ba
Thomas
Jno Harv
Francis Lig

On the part and Behalf of the State of No Carolina
John Pe
Corn: Ha
Jn Williams

On the part & behalf of the State of South-Carolina
Henry La
William Hen
Jno Math
Richd Hu
Thos Hey

On the part & behalf of the State of Georgia
Jn Walt
Edwd Tel
Edwd Lang



And that the articles thereof ſhall be inviolably observed by the ſtates we reſpectively repreſent, and that the union ſhall be perpetual. In Witneſs whereof we have hereunto ſet our hands in Congreſs. Done at Philadelphia in the ſtate of Pennſylvania the ninth Day of July in the Year of our Lord one Thouſand ſeven Hundred and Seventy-eight, and in the third year of the independence of America.

Josiah Bartlett
John Wentworth Junr
August 8th 1778
John Hancock
Samuel Adams
William Ellery
Henry Marchant
John Collins
Roger Sherman
Nath. Scudder
Nov. 26. 1778.

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

LEFT: Cobbled together by the Continental Congress – usually on the run during the war – The Articles of Confederation established a weak central government and strong states' rights. The colonies feared a strong central power after so many years under Britain's thumb.

> *"AND THAT THE ARTICLES THEREOF SHALL BE INVIOLABLY OBSERVED BY THE STATES WE RESPECTIVELY REPRESENT, AND THAT THE UNION SHALL BE PERPETUAL … DONE AT PHILADELPHIA IN THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA THE NINTH DAY OF JULY …"*

Articles of Confederation
1777

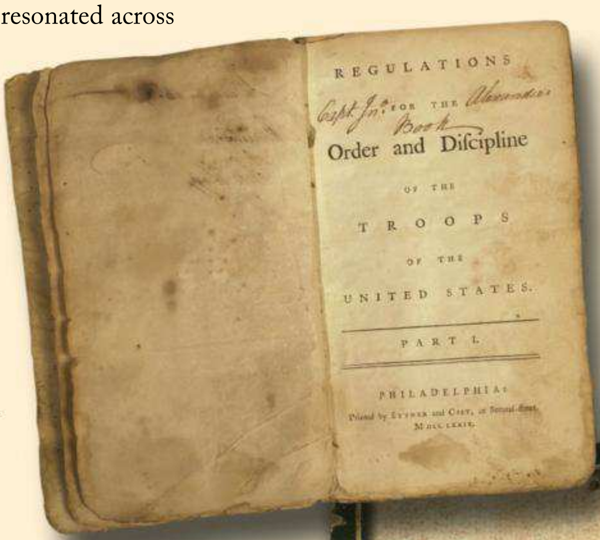
INTO VALLEY FORGE 1777-1778

With Congress begging for a winter campaign to oust Howe and his occupying force from Philadelphia, Washington had to consider his army's exhaustion and the meager supplies available to it. He marched into encampment near the village of Valley Forge, Pennsylvania. Though beaten at Brandywine Creek, and forced into yet another retreat before General Howe's troops, morale among the Americans was unusually high.

The army's engineers staked out parallel streets and drill fields and employed soldiers to build 2,000 small huts, each housing 12 men. The sound of axes, hammers, and saws resonated across the rolling hills. The army was short of food, water, and clothing, but not stubborn backbone. Besides their quarters, they managed to build five earthen redoubts and put a sturdy bridge across the nearby Schuylkill River. But for all that, a sentry who greeted Washington one morning had to stand on his hat to keep his bare feet out of the snow.

It was into this frozen outpost that two men came who would leave an indelible mark on the Americans' struggle. Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette, was a wealthy and driven young Frenchman who had left his family and military career to join Washington's army without any promise of pay, in hopes of earning a command. His friendship with the general coupled with his intense passion for the Revolution won him both respect, and an enduring place in the hearts of all American patriots.

The other man was a former half-pay captain in the Prussian army who had met Benjamin Franklin while the elder statesman was



REGULATIONS

Capt. Jnº FOR THE Alexander's Book

Order and Diſcipline

OF THE

TROOPS

OF THE

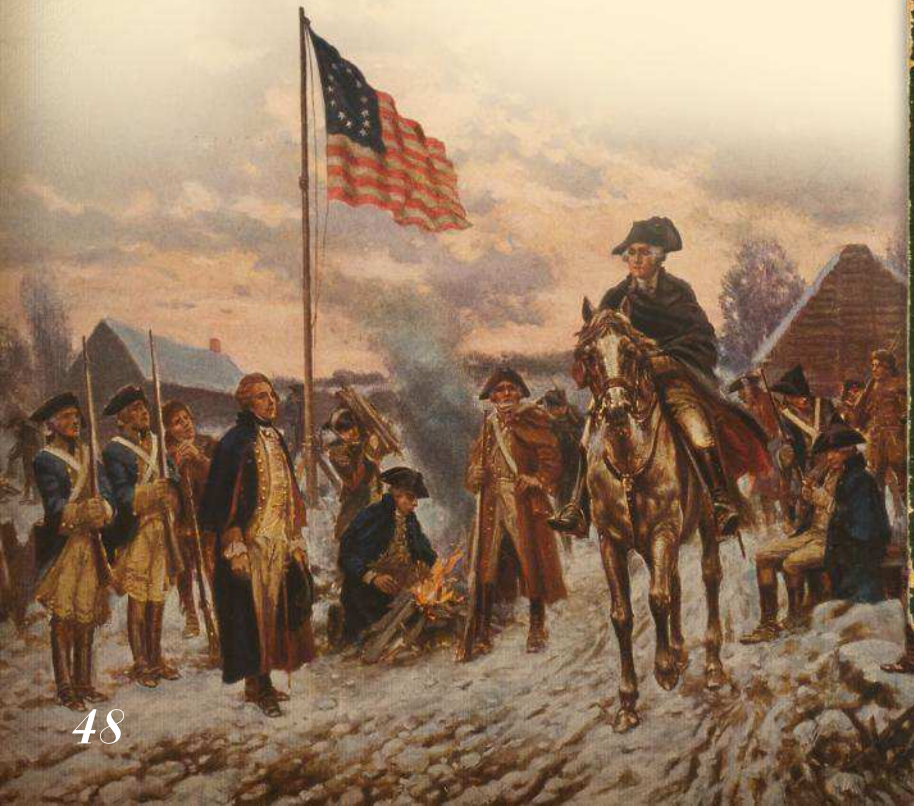
UNITED STATES.

PART I.

PHILADELPHIA:

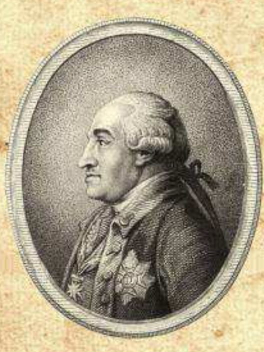
LEFT: *General von Steuben's method of drill taught to the Continental Army was printed in book form for all officers to use. Von Steuben took Prussian rifle and troop movements and simplified them for the colonials.*

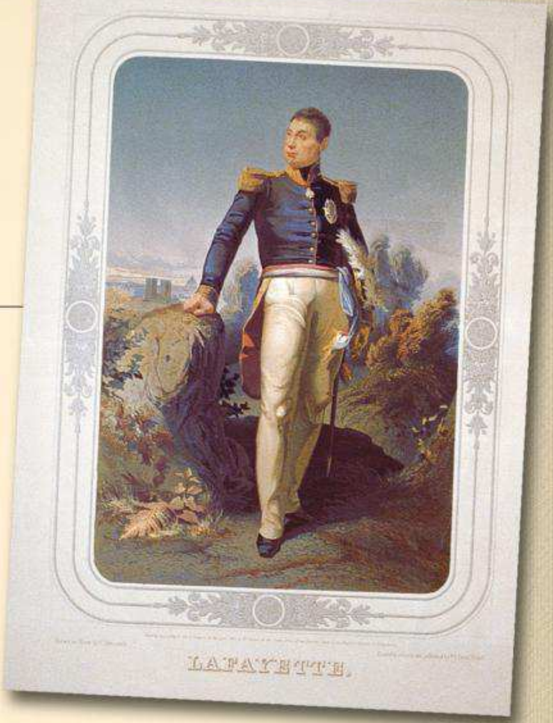
BELOW: *George Washington passes the colors as the troops are paraded at Valley Forge. Musters on the parade ground, guard duty, and camp routine were kept up despite the cold to keep the army together.*



VON STEUBEN'S DRILL

Baron Friedrich von Steuben (1730-1794) joined Washington's command at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, during the winter of 1778 and began training troops. He spoke no English and started small with 100 men. His musket drill broke down the process of loading and firing a musket into 15 precise steps to teach the men discipline that would be applied to his program of troop maneuvers and marching. His manual, *Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States*, was published in 1779.





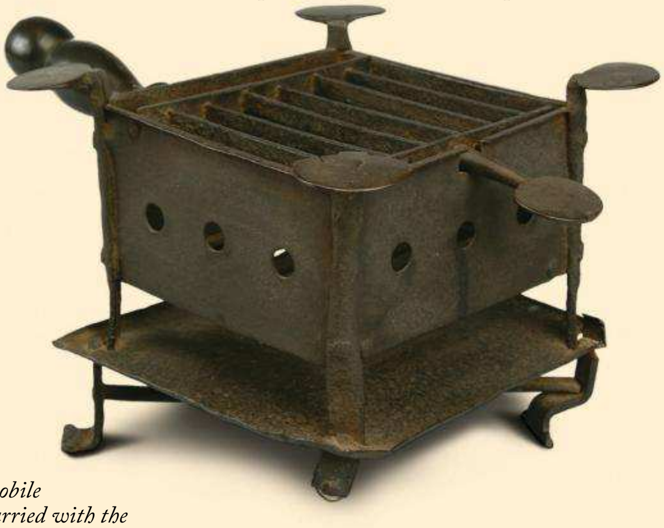
RIGHT: *The Marquis de Lafayette came from France and volunteered to fight with Washington. They remained lifelong friends and Lafayette fought significant battles in 1780–81. He became an American hero.*

serving as ambassador to France. It is possible that Franklin helped him inflate his dossier to impress Congress and General Washington. So it was that Lieutenant General Baron Friedrich Wilhelm Ludolf Gerhard Augustus von Steuben arrived at Valley Forge to offer his services. He took on the task of teaching the Continental Army to do what it had done since the battle of Breed's and Bunker Hill – how to fight the British. But he taught them to fight as a disciplined army, not as a mob of well-intentioned civilians.

Von Steuben spoke little English, so he started small with a squad of shivering soldiers and had Pierre Duponceau – his French secretary – Colonel John Laurens, or Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Hamilton translate his drills and commands from German into French and then into English. He slowly walked the squad through the commands of loading and firing their flintlocks, taking them through 15 steps from the musket grounded at their side to firing. He taught ranks of soldiers to wheel into line and move as a body, to master the thrust and parry of the bayonet, and to perform as a military force in the face of Europe's finest army. From squad to platoon to company, the constant drills packed down the snow on the Grand Parade Field. He and Washington, and the young Lafayette watched whole divisions dress ranks, stamp, and half-step to the rattle of drums. Von Steuben's manual of drill became part of every field officer's kit.

As the troops drilled, survived, froze, and some took off for home, the selfless Nathanael Greene accepted Washington's appointment as quartermaster. The same zeal Greene showed in the field, he brought to supplying the thousands of troops. He uncovered long-forgotten stores that been missed by the British during an earlier raid and employed troops to rake and net tons of shad from the Schuylkill River for salting down.

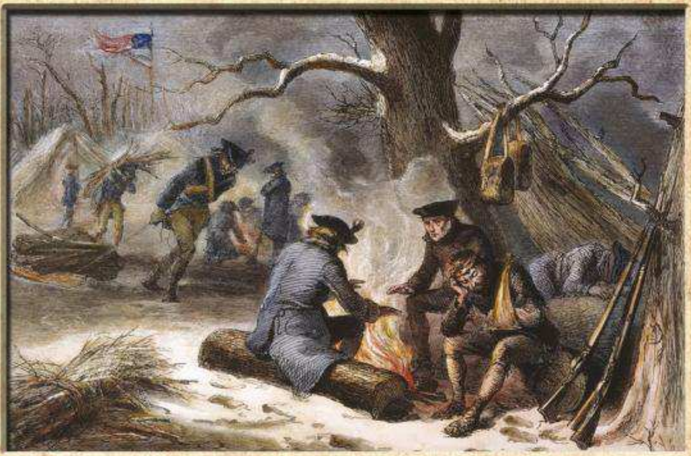
But on May 5, 1778, startling news greeted duty officers that morning. On February 4, France had signed a Treaty of Alliance with the United States of America. They were no longer alone.



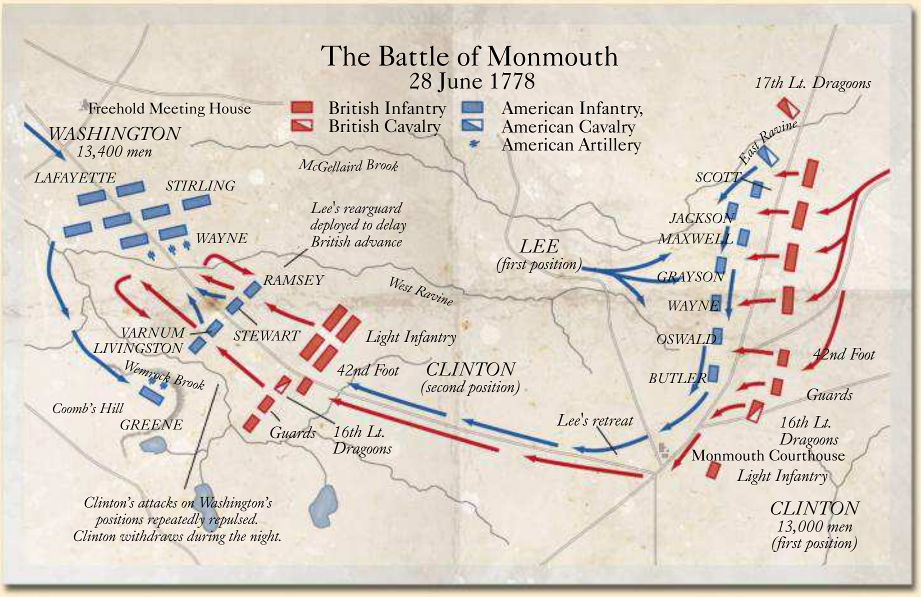
ABOVE: *This camp broiler is typical of the mobile kitchenwares carried with the tents and equipment in ox-drawn wagons during troop movements. Made of cast iron, it could serve a squad of soldiers or an officers' mess.*

VALLEY FORGE CAMP LIFE

Winter camp life at Valley Forge was harsh. The 12-man huts and two-man field officer huts were adequate for shelter, but food rations were slim and winter clothing dependent on private donations, since there was little or no money. Men gathered every morning to hear general orders read, posted guards, and often hunted small game for the pot. Those who could rise from their bunks worked on construction projects. Martha Washington's visits with hot soup were very welcome.



THE AMERICAN ARMY IS TESTED AT MONMOUTH 1778


The Battle of Monmouth
28 June 1778
British Infantry
British Cavalry
American Infantry,
American Cavalry
American Artillery
Freehold Meeting House
WASHINGTON
13,400 men
LAFAYETTE
STIRLING
WAYNE
McGellaird Brook
Lee's rearguard deployed to delay British advance
RAMSEY
West Ravine
VARNUM
LIVINGSTON
STEWART
Light Infantry
42nd Foot
CLINTON
(second position)
Wemrock Brook
Coomb's Hill
GREENE
Guards
16th Lt. Dragoons
Clinton's attacks on Washington's positions repeatedly repulsed. Clinton withdraws during the night.
LEE
(first position)
Lee's retreat
17th Lt. Dragoons
East Ravine
SCOTT
JACKSON
MAXWELL
GRAYSON
WAYNE
OSWALD
BUTLER
42nd Foot
Guards
16th Lt. Dragoons
Monmouth Courthouse
Light Infantry
CLINTON
13,000 men
(first position)

ABOVE: *The sea battle between the victorious Bonhomme Richard, an old ship given to John Paul Jones by France, and HMS Serapis on September 23, 1779, established the Continental navy as more than a handful of privateers.*

The American alliance with France had an immediate impact. Sir Henry Clinton had just ensconced himself in Philadelphia as Howe's replacement commanding all British forces in North America, when he received orders from London to ship 5,000 of his troops to the West Indies to fight the French. He had to transport another 3,000 troops to St. Augustine, Florida, to guard against Spain's probable entry into the war. What remained of the Philadelphia occupation force was bound for New York. In the context of British–French global conflict, North America once again became part of a larger whole.

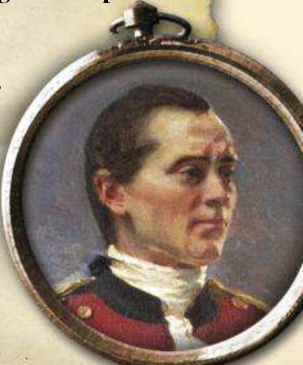
Loyal British Tories had flocked to Philadelphia once the British had taken it. Now the city was to be evacuated and they would be abandoned to the rebels' wrath. Clinton also feared the appearance of French warships, and so decided to send the Loyalists by water routes to British-occupied territory around New York, while he marched his troops overland, crossing the Delaware River into New Jersey on June 18, 1778.

By June 1, Clinton's evacuation plan was in Washington's hands. He gave the opportunity to attack Clinton's troops and supply train to General Charles Lee, who immediately turned it down and used every opportunity to slander Washington's leadership and character. Lee was convinced American troops were no match for the British. When the army of 6,000 men was then given to Lafayette and the size of the committed force became known, Lee immediately reconsidered and demanded the command. Obeying protocol, Washington acceded and Lee rode off to seize control.

Though Daniel Morgan shadowed the British, opportunity after opportunity was lost to launch an attack. Lafayette and Anthony Wayne seethed as they listened to British wagons rumble along a road near Monmouth Courthouse. Finally, word reached Washington who ordered Lee to attack immediately. Lee threw up his hands and on June 28 scattered his men all along the British line of march. The result was uncoordinated chaos. Yet the troops trained by von Steuben proved better than their commander. Anthony Wayne's infantry were hotly engaged when elite British cavalry, the Queen's Rangers and 16th Dragoons, thundered forward. Earlier, a cavalry charge had always driven the American rabble to flee. Now, the Continentals wheeled into double lines and delivered crashing volleys that emptied the saddles of the British. "Fix bayonets!" rolled down the line and the Americans advanced, driving the Rangers and Dragoons back upon their own infantry.

At this point, Lee abandoned Wayne, Lafayette, Morgan, and the rest and pounding to the rear called for a full retreat. Lafayette, his sword bloodied, his men fighting toe to toe with the British, looked

JOHN PAUL JONES

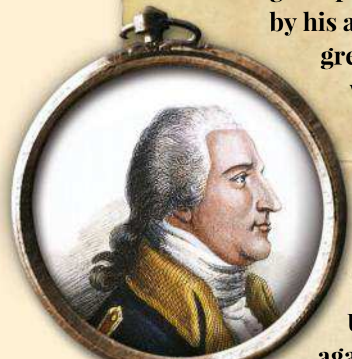


"Have you struck? Do you call for quarter?" Captain Richard Pearson of the frigate Serapis called across to Captain John Paul Jones (1747-1792), commanding the Bonhomme Richard on September 23, 1779. Jones's reply according to witnesses after the battle, "I may sink, but I'm damned if I'll strike" became famous as "I have not yet begun to fight," recorded 46 years later. Jones defeated Pearson as the Bonhomme Richard sank under him. Jones's career at sea was brief, but distinguished.

around to see a solitary figure riding toward him on a white horse. Dusty, streaked with sweat and cantering with his cocked hat held high, George Washington's "presence stopped the retreat," wrote the Marquis. The Americans rallied and held, but could not advance. The magnificently disciplined British had been fighting this kind of battle for 100 years. Aided by darkness, the British wagon train proceeded toward the ships waiting at Sandy Hook.

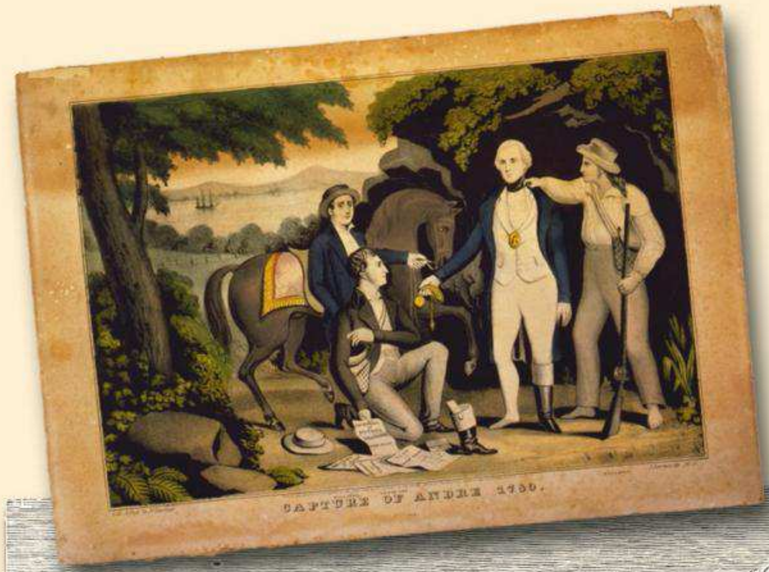
Washington sent Lee to the rear to await the court martial that would end Lee's career. The Battle of Monmouth ended in a draw, but the Americans had fought on British terms and broken the scarlet line. The main armies would never face each other again bayonet-to-bayonet because the war moved south into other commands. But on the night of June 28, both George Washington and the Marquis de Lafayette fell asleep beneath a gnarled old tree on soil won by the first United States Army.

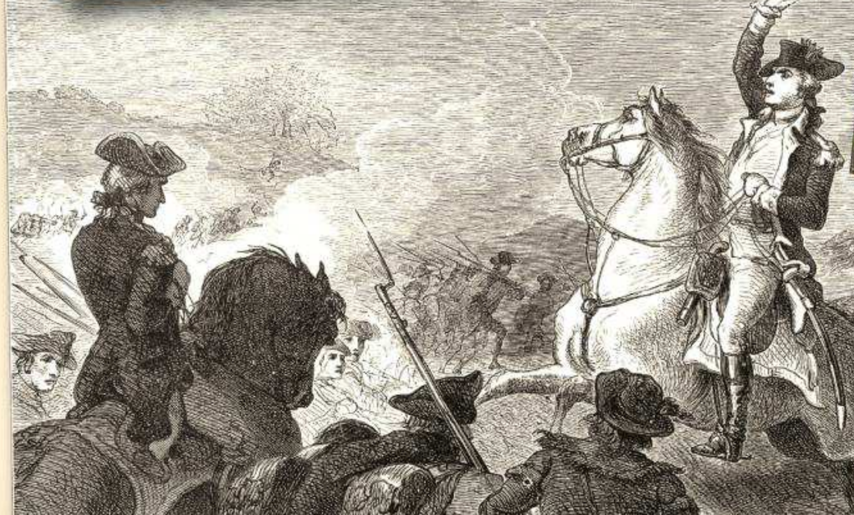
BENEDICT ARNOLD

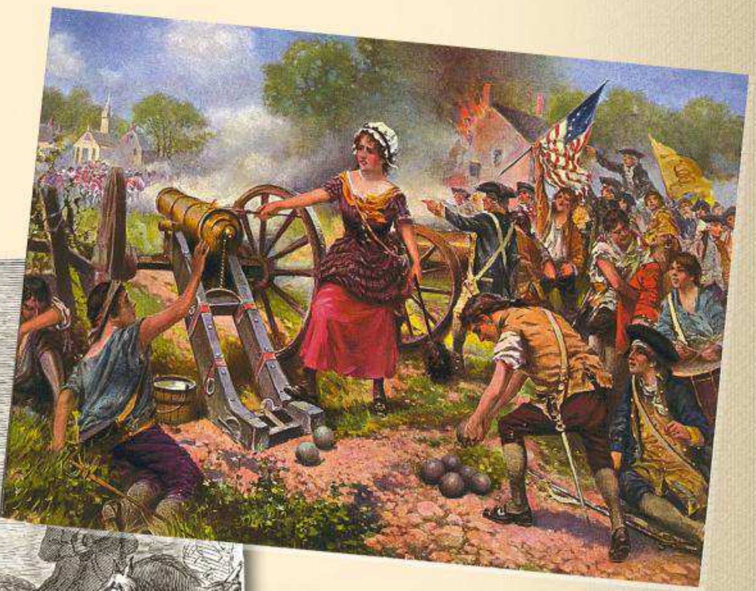


Benedict Arnold (1741-1801) was an American officer of great personal bravery matched only by his ambition. A man of action and great appetites, he was badly wounded in the leg and blamed Congress for overlooking his claims for advancement. He gave plans of West Point's defense to Loyalist spy John Andreé who was caught and hanged. Arnold fled the United States and led troops against the Americans. He died a pauper in England and was buried in his Continental uniform.

BELOW: *Major John André, a British spy, is captured with the plans to the Hudson River defenses in his boot. His collaboration with American General Benedict Arnold rocked the army and General Washington.*


CAPTURE OF ANDRE 1780.

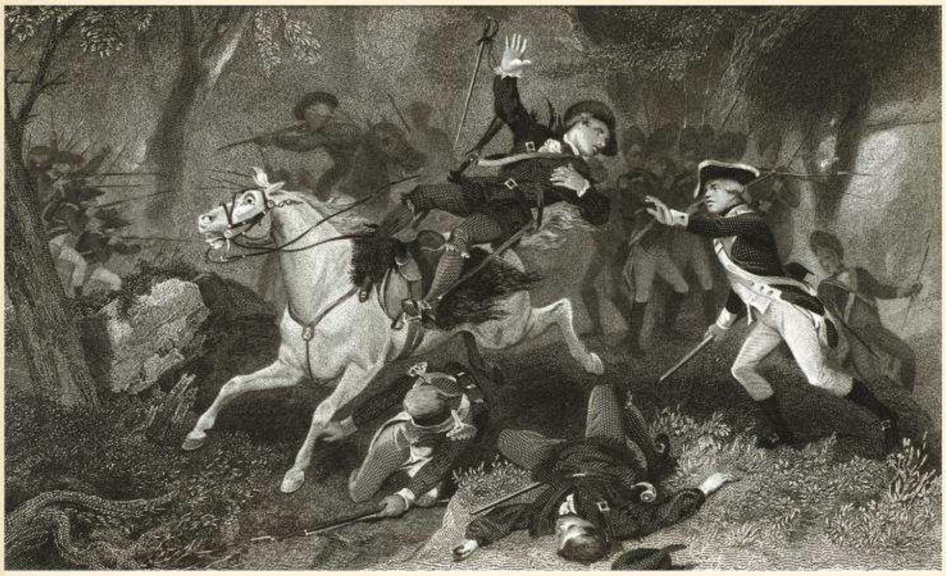




ABOVE: *This "Molly Pitcher" – a term used for women who brought troops water – fires a gun during an artillery duel at the Battle of Monmouth. The lower part of her petticoat was probably shot off when a ball went between her legs.*

LEFT: *General George Washington confronts General Charles Lee at Monmouth and relieves him of command for retreating. Washington went on to lead the troops back against the British and saved the army once more.*

FIGHT AMERICANS WITH AMERICANS



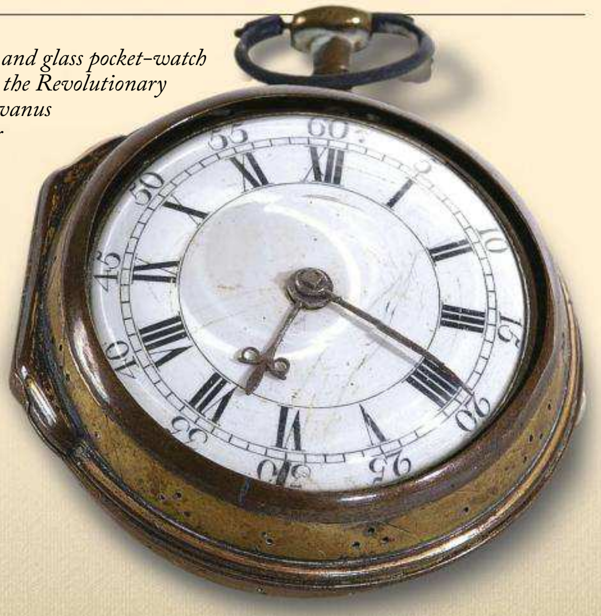
"FROM A MILITIA OFFICER WAITING TO ATTACK: MY BRAVE FELLOWS, WHEN YOU ARE ENGAGED, YOU ARE NOT TO WAIT FOR THE WORD OF COMMAND FROM ME. I WILL SHOW YOU BUT MY EXAMPLE HOW TO FIGHT. FIRE AS QUICK AS YOU CAN, AND STAND YOUR GROUND AS LONG AS YOU CAN."

General Daniel Morgan
January 16, 1781

In 1779, the war moved south. General Benjamin Lincoln of Massachusetts, along with a mixed force of militia and Continentals, marched south to support a French attack on a virtually defenseless Savannah, Georgia. The French admiral, Comte d'Estaing, demanded the surrender of the small British garrison in the name of Louis XVI. He then established an elaborate siege of the city, but on October 9 botched the entire attack, incurring 800 casualties. With that dubious accomplishment, and fearing bad weather, d'Estaing packed up his army and sailed away to Martinique, leaving Lincoln to wonder at the value of the French alliance. The American general marched his remaining troops back to Charleston, South Carolina, leaving Savannah in British hands.

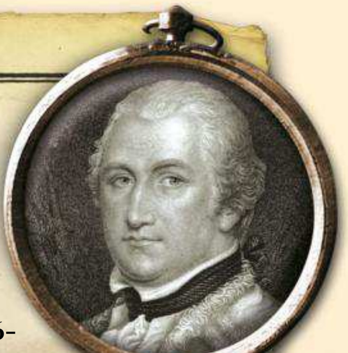
Sir Henry Clinton decided an adventure in the south would be good for his army regulars and would allow him to exercise his

ABOVE: *The American frontiersmen – led by elected officers – confront British Major Patrick Ferguson atop Kings Mountain. The major was shot from his horse and the Tories he led finally surrendered.*



RIGHT: *This brass and glass pocket-watch was carried though the Revolutionary War by Colonel Sylvanus Seeley, Commander of the New Jersey Militia. Good timepieces were needed in order to co-ordinate the troop's movements.*

DANIEL MORGAN



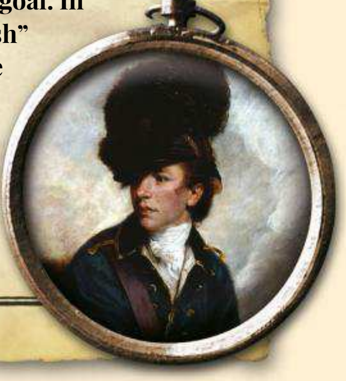
The "Old Waggoner" was an almost mythical hero of the Revolution. Daniel Morgan (1736-1802) emerged from the wilderness at age 17 and began building a legend that included receiving 500 lashes from the British for striking an officer. Preferring buckskins to a uniform, he and his riflemen achieved fame at Quebec, Freeman's Farm, and his stunning victory at Cowpens. He served a term in Congress, but quit after calling the Jeffersonians, "a bunch of egg-sucking dogs."

scheme for using thousands of Tories who, he believed, would flock to the Union Jack. He also gained the assistance of Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton, the ruthless commander of "Tarleton's Tory Legion," a bloodthirsty cavalry troop known for scourging rebel civilians as well as enemy troops. Cutting down surrendering soldiers and begging planters alike was dubbed "Tarleton's Quarter."

General Lincoln did not possess Washington's survival skills and bottled up his army in Charleston. Clinton's 10,000 men closed in, while Tarleton hacked shut every escape road. When Lincoln finally surrendered on May 12, 1780, he was treated with complete disdain. Meanwhile, General Horatio Gates brought an army south to attack Cornwallis, who had been building forts in the Carolinas. Gates's poor generalship was consistent with his near-fiasco at Saratoga. On August 16, he blundered into Cornwallis's superior force near Camden, North Carolina. Instead of a prudent withdrawal, Gates attacked. The resulting one-sided slaughter by the Tory Legion left Tarleton's men so exhausted they could hardly lift their swords.

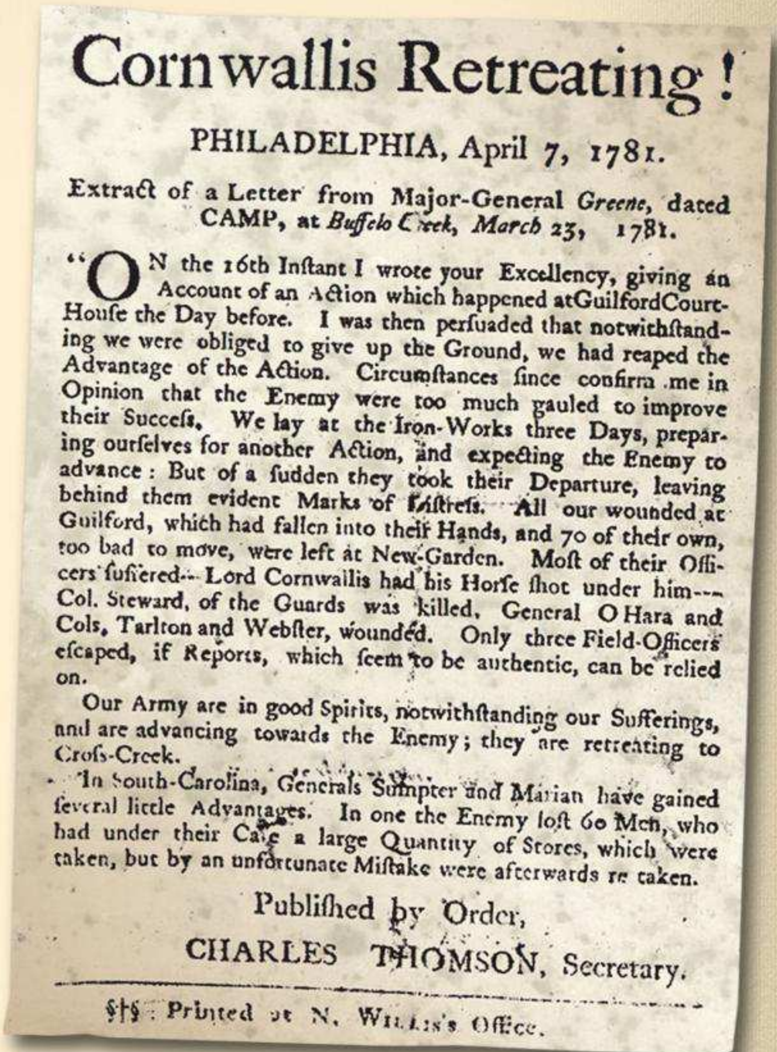
BANASTRE TARLETON

Banastre Tarleton (1754-1833) – whose mother bought his commission in the cavalry for £800 after he gambled away his fortune – was considered to be the most hated officer in the British Army. Tarleton was an unrepentant man of action who used any means necessary to achieve his goal. In America, he assembled a "British" Legion of Tories; his oppressive tactics offering little or no quarter to his enemies. Lionized back in Britain, he led a long and chaotic life ending in obscurity.



When Gates was eventually located three days after the running battle, his army of almost 3,000 troops had been slashed to a bedraggled band of 700 without food or equipment. American dead amounted to almost 2,000 men, whereas the British had lost only 69 soldiers. Clinton returned to New York, and Cornwallis achieved command in the south. Now he decided to sweep on northeast, to help quell rebel ardor and build his Tory army. To this end, he assigned Major Patrick Ferguson and about 1,000 Tories to secure his left flank.

Uncomfortable at the edge of the Great American Wilderness, Ferguson warned the scattered bands of American trappers, hunters, and "over-the-mountain" men in today's Tennessee that they must join the Crown troops or be invaded. Ferguson sadly miscalculated. Soon, almost 900 hard-living, hard-drinking, sharp-shooting mountain-men were hunting Ferguson's Tory Army. He had gone to ground atop Kings Mountain, a long, narrow plateau-topped ridge.



Cornwallis Retreating!

PHILADELPHIA, April 7, 1781.

Extract of a Letter from Major-General *Greene*, dated CAMP, at *Buffelo Creek*, *March* 23, 1781.

"ON the 16th Inſtant I wrote your Excellency, giving an Account of an Action which happened at Guilford Court-Houſe the Day before. I was then perſuaded that notwithſtanding we were obliged to give up the Ground, we had reaped the Advantage of the Action. Circumſtances ſince confirm me in Opinion that the Enemy were too much gauled to improve their Succeſs. We lay at the Iron-Works three Days, preparing ourſelves for another Action, and expecting the Enemy to advance: But of a ſudden they took their Departure, leaving behind them evident Marks of Diſtreſs. All our wounded at Guilford, which had fallen into their Hands, and 70 of their own, too bad to move, were left at New-Garden. Moſt of their Officers ſuffered-- Lord Cornwallis had his Horſe ſhot under him--- Col. Steward, of the Guards was killed, General O Hara and Cols, Tarlton and Webſter, wounded. Only three Field-Officers eſcaped, if Reports, which ſeem to be authentic, can be relied on.

Our Army are in good Spirits, notwithſtanding our Sufferings, and are advancing towards the Enemy; they are retreating to Croſs-Creek.

In South-Carolina, Generals Sumpter and Marian have gained ſeveral little Advantages. In one the Enemy loſt 60 Men, who had under their Care a large Quantity of Stores, which were taken, but by an unfortunate Miſtake were afterwards re taken.

Publiſhed by Order,

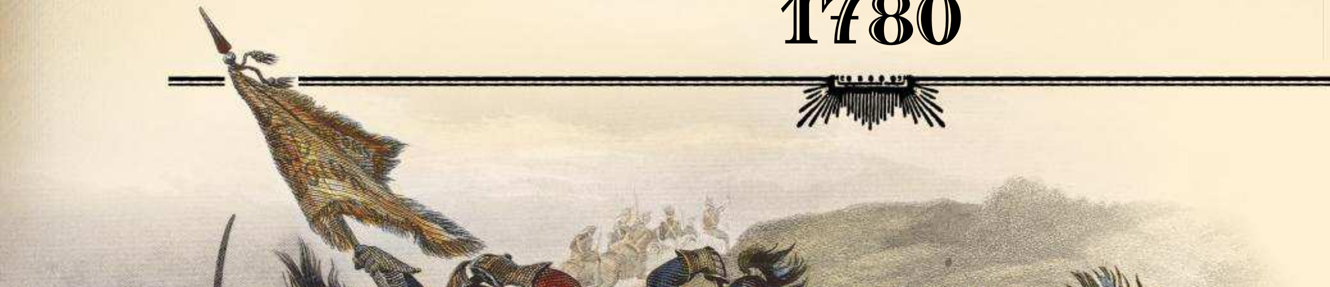
CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary.

§†§ : Printed at N. WILLIS's Office.

ABOVE: *A propaganda broadsheet printed as Cornwallis moved his troops south overland after Monmouth and Kings Mountain. American Generals Greene and Lafayette harassed the column as it moved.*

Ferguson's Tories had been taught to fight like British regulars with Brown Bess muskets and bayonets. The mountain-men under Colonels Isaac Shelby and "Nolichucky Jack" Sevier were long-range riflemen who used knives and tomahawks for close work. Indian war whoops began the battle—on October 7, 1780—and the buckskin-clad warriors stormed the plateau from all sides. Firing as they climbed, the long-riflemen aimed low and sheared away line after line of Tories, while musket volleys hissed high above the mountain-men's heads. Tory bayonet charges met killing fire. Soon the riflemen gained the top of Kings Mountain and the Tories began surrendering. Unable to accept surrender "to such banditti," Ferguson wheeled his horse and charged with sword raised. He and the men who followed him were shot to pieces by 50 rifles. The British concept of "fighting Americans with Americans" had failed miserably here.

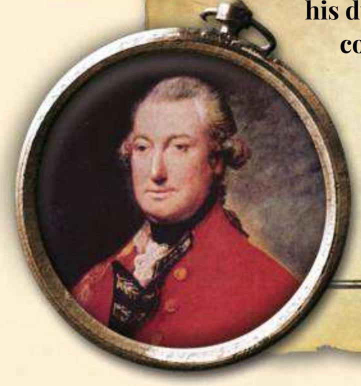
COWPENS 1780



LEFT: *Colonel Tarleton's Dragoons are surprised by American cavalry commanded by Colonel William Washington. The British cavalry were sweeping down on retreating militia when Washington successfully launched his counter-attack.*

GENERAL CHARLES CORNWALLIS

General Cornwallis (1738-1805) came from a classic upper-class background, becoming an ensign in the 1st Grenadier Guards before his 18th birthday. He opposed the Parliamentary measures that caused the Revolution, but once sent to the Colonies as a major general, he did his duty as an excellent and insightful commander. Following his defeat at Yorktown, he pursued a diplomatic career, ending his days in India as Governor-General. He died there at Ghazipur (in Uttar Pradesh) on October 5, 1805.



On December 2, 1780, Major General Nathanael Greene inherited a wretched command from the unfortunate Horatio Gates, a retired British soldier who had come over to the American side. Its paper strength was 2,500, but only 1,500 showed up for duty, and only 800 of those were equipped for the field. Greene moved the mob into a "camp of repose" 60 miles southeast of Charlotte, North Carolina. There, he and some very able officers began to whip them back into shape. Among these officers were Colonel John Eager Howard, Polish engineer Thadeusz Kosciuszko, the able cavalry commander William Washington and – drawn from his 1779 retirement – the "Old Waggoner" Daniel Morgan. Crippled by arthritis and sciatica, he accepted the rank of Brigadier General and reported for duty.

Greene divided his already small force into three commands. Each unit could strike at Cornwallis's communications outposts, ambush his supply lines, or harass his flanks. Whichever unit Cornwallis moved against, Greene could strike elsewhere. Puzzled by this information from Tory scouts on the divided command, Cornwallis picked up the challenge and divided his own command, attacking each of Greene's three groups. He chose Banastre Tarleton with his British Legion, dragoons, Highlanders, infantry, light artillery, and a group of Tories totaling 1,100 men as those tasked with disposal of Morgan's "nuisance."

The towering, burly Morgan, clad in buckskins, chose his fighting ground with care; a sprawling cow pasture, known locally as "cowpens," with no trees to inhibit movement of troops or cavalry, but with hills and depressions perfect for concealment. On January 16, as Tarleton's exhausted troops bedded down a short distance away, Morgan visited every camp-fire to explain his plan and cheer his men.

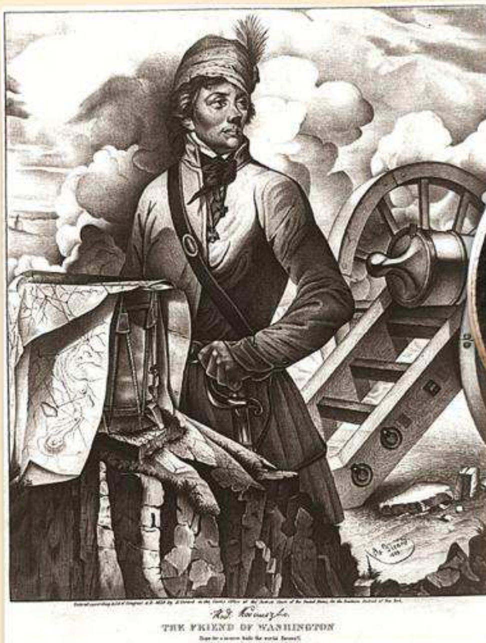
Tarleton began his advance at 3.00 a.m., stripped of baggage and ready for battle. Tory scouts brought back news that militia had been sighted and that Morgan's main body was nearby. Tarleton was elated and spurred ahead with 50 dragoons. They spotted the usual ragged mob of militia, swung into line and trotted forward. Gunfire sheeted

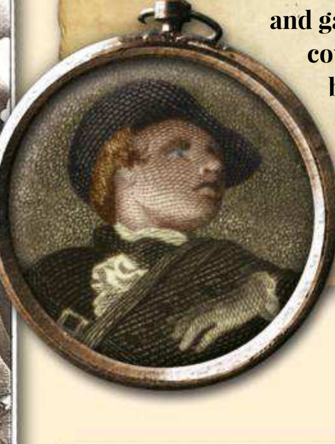
> “ COLONEL EARLETON IS SAID TO BE ON HIS WAY TO PAY YOU A VISIT. I DOUBT NOT BUT HE WILL HAVE A DECENT RECEPTION AND A PROPER DISMISSION.”
>
> Major General Nathanael Greene
> Letter to Brigadier General Daniel Morgan
> January 13, 1781

across the tall grass from Morgan’s picked marksmen. Fifteen saddles emptied and Tarleton halted. He waved forward his infantry who came at the double. The militia waited, and then a second volley shattered the sound of running boots and jingling equipment. A dozen British officers and NCOs dropped. The militia ran to the rear through a second line of riflemen. Encouraged, Tarleton urged his dressed ranks forward. The second line fired at 50 paces. British soldiers toppled and recoiled. The first line had reloaded and added a volley that further bloodied the ground. Then all the militia ran, splitting left and right around a rising hill. With a collective roar, the enraged British infantry broke ranks and charged their way up the rise. Tarleton and his cavalry swept forward.

British troops surged over the crest and into the grim-faced ranks of Marylander and Delaware Continentals arrayed in parade ground lines. Howard’s first volley decimated the regulars. Tarleton’s Legion galloped in to be hit on their flank by Colonel William Washington’s dragoons and Lieutenant Colonel James McCall’s sword-wielding cavalry. Virginia riflemen raked the other flank. Howard’s final volley at point-blank range, followed by a bayonet charge into the bloody mass, finished it.

Abandoned by his Legion, Tarleton escaped, but he was broken that day. Cornwallis pursued Greene’s army, but lost a race to the Dan River across which Greene escaped, ready to inflict further destruction on Cornwallis’s line of communications. The two generals dueled across the south until Clinton ordered Cornwallis to send troops to New York to frustrate any French attack. Cornwallis did so, and found himself holing up in a Virginia coastal village on the James River called Yorktown.

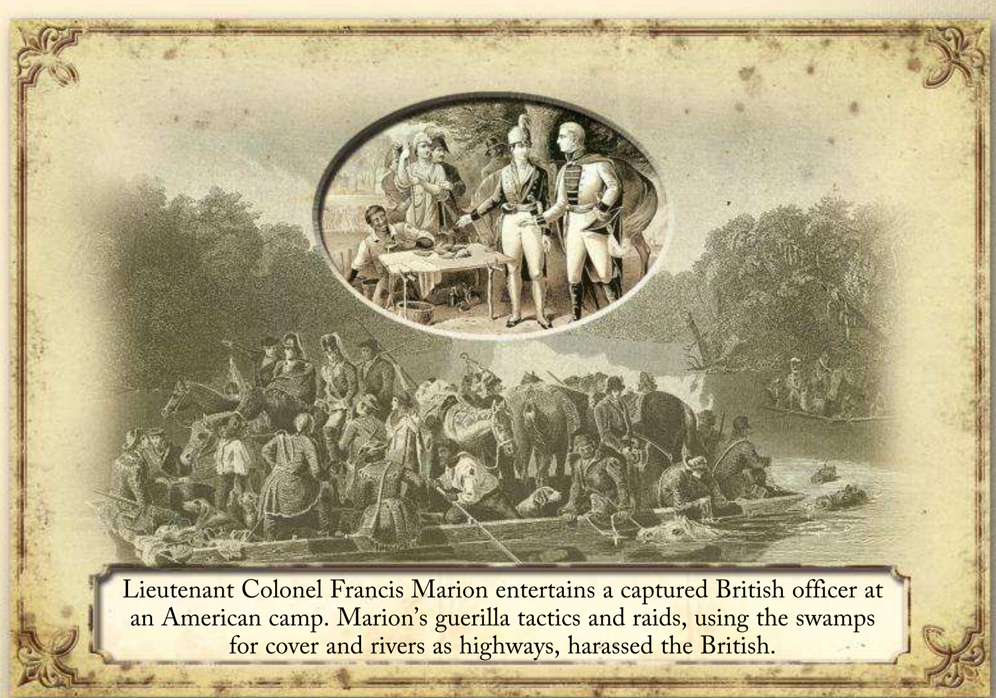




LIEUTENANT COLONEL PATRICK FERGUSON

A distinguished leader of Tory troops and of his own “Sharp Shooters”, who used his patented rifle, Ferguson (1744-1780) tells of confronting two Continental officers on September 7, 1777. One was very tall and distinguished on a bay horse, wearing a cocked hat. Ferguson’s men could have cut them down, but he ordered their surrender. The tall officer wheeled his horse and galloped away. Ferguson could not shoot him in the back. Later, he learned the officer was probably George Washington.

LEFT: *Tadeusz Andrzej Bonawentura Kosciuszko, a Polish engineer, used his skills and the rebels’ proven ability to dig and throw up formidable earthworks to defeat Barry St. Leger’s support of Burgoyne’s army and deny British troops the Hudson River’s west bank.*



Lieutenant Colonel Francis Marion entertains a captured British officer at an American camp. Marion’s guerilla tactics and raids, using the swamps for cover and rivers as highways, harassed the British.

YORKTOWN
1781

By 1781, the American army was, as Washington wrote, "at the end of our tether." Washington was convinced he could not defeat the British unless by some bold stroke of luck. Curiously, the British were coming to that same conclusion regarding their own chances of victory. The simple thrashing of some ranting rabble had turned into seven years of bloody campaigning and still the American army stood undefeated. It had been beaten and beaten, chased and beaten again, but refused to capitulate. Instead, the provincials had chastened several of Britain's finest general officers and had routed some of the finest regiments of foot and horse. And now the opportunistic French had come in with their equally opportunistic allies, the Dutch and Spanish, sniffing for plunder at Britain's expense. With the fleet stretched thin and British admirals seeing French sail stalking every possession and port in the empire, prolonging the North American adventure really seemed to be a bad investment.

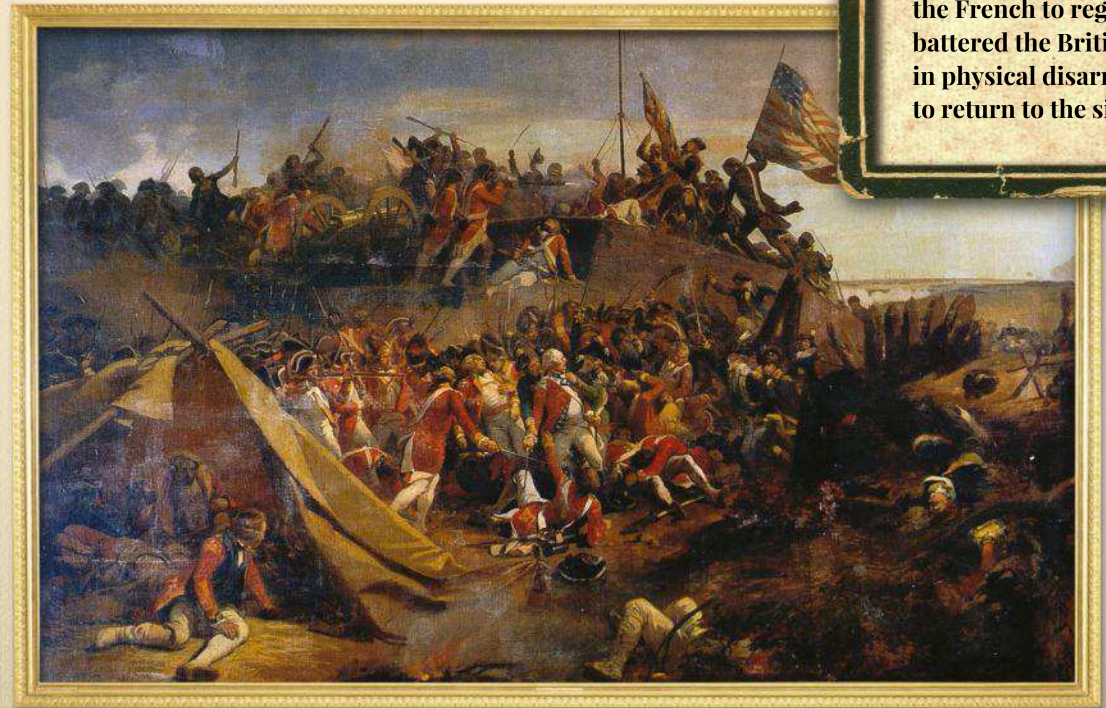
And yet Lieutenant General Lord Cornwallis saw a glimmer of hope, and in late 1780 he drove his army into Virginia, the heart of the Americans' economy and supply lines, and a center of radical resistance. Greene's army was still licking its wounds from their last confrontations. Only the Marquis de Lafayette and Anthony Wayne had small forces in the field, and Cornwallis kept these at bay using the services of the infamous Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton's dragoons, and also through superior numbers of infantry and guns.

Over in New York, Lieutenant General Sir Henry Clinton fumed. He disputed Cornwallis's method of taking the war to the Americans. Resolving to keep him under control through communication by sea, Clinton ordered Cornwallis to select a headquarters on the Virginia coast. Cornwallis chose Yorktown, Virginia, which was set on a short spur of land flanked by the James and York rivers, with its back to Chesapeake Bay and the Atlantic Ocean beyond. There, he felt safe. After all, Britannia ruled the waves. He had little to fear from a direct attack over land by the Americans. Some redoubts and trench work to the south seemed adequate defense.

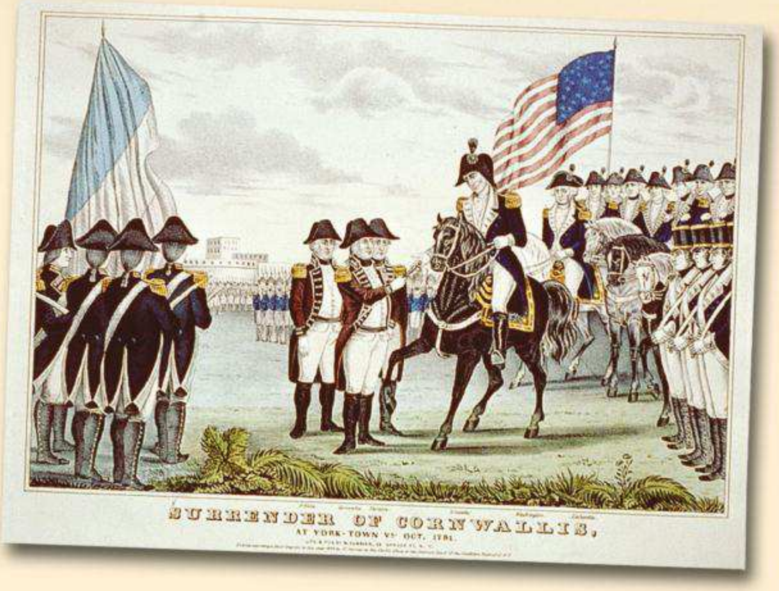
What Cornwallis did not know was that the French general, Comte de Rochambeau, had marched his French troops from Rhode

BATTLE OF THE VIRGINIA CAPES

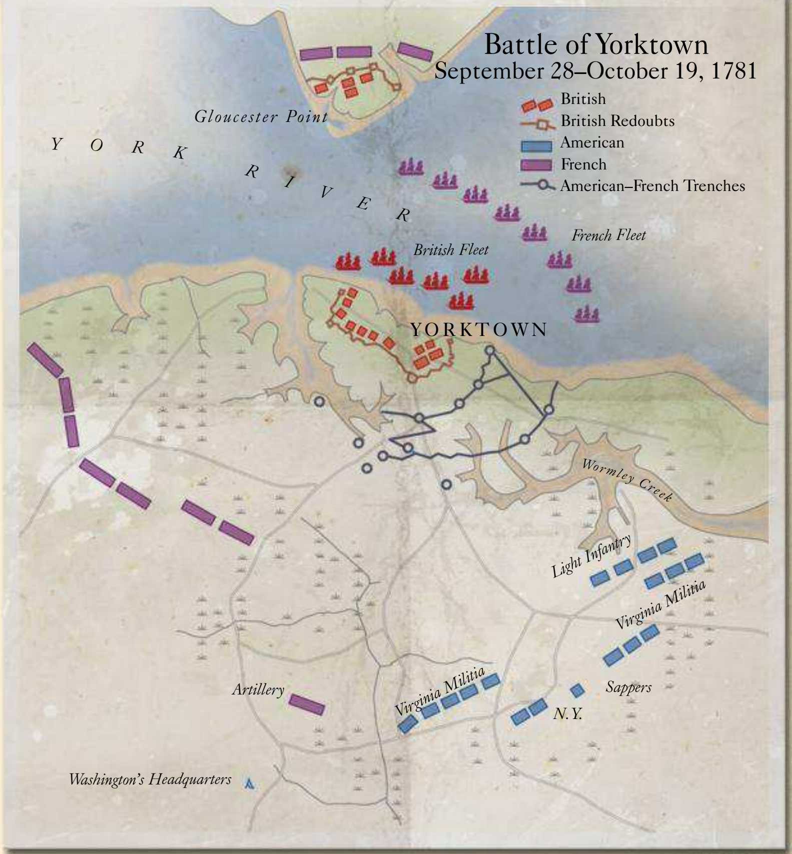
The sea battle off the Virginia Capes on September 5, 1781, between French Admiral François Comte de Grasse and British Admiral Sir Thomas Graves decided the fate of Yorktown. Graves's command was outnumbered by the disorganized French and his ships had the wind advantage. Unfortunately the British commanders failed to exploit this, allowing the French to regroup. Subsequent ship action battered the British. His fleet low in morale and in physical disarray, Graves allowed the French to return to the siege of Yorktown.



LEFT: *Colonel Alexander Hamilton led the American troops in the capture of British Redoubt #10. They carried the position, rendering the British defenses effectively impossible to maintain.*


SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS,
AT YORK-TOWN Va OCT. 1781.

ABOVE: *British General O'Hara surrendered to General Lincoln as Washington and Rochambeau watched. Cornwallis was not present and all the officers were mounted.*


Battle of Yorktown
September 28–October 19, 1781
British
British Redoubts
American
French
American–French Trenches
Gloucester Point
YORK RIVER
British Fleet
French Fleet
YORKTOWN
Wormley Creek
Light Infantry
Virginia Militia
Sappers
N.Y.
Virginia Militia
Artillery
Washington's Headquarters

ABOVE: *A map showing the French fleet blockading the bay at the York River, keeping supplies and reinforcements from reaching Cornwallis's army. The Americans and French had encircled Yorktown with gun batteries.*

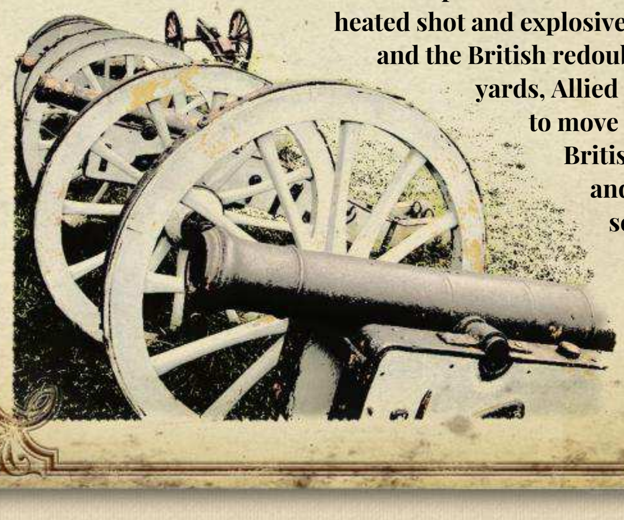
Island to link up with Washington's command. Nor did Cornwallis know French Admiral Comte de Grasse and a fleet of 28 sail were heading for Chesapeake Bay. When 3,000 French troops were landed on August 30 to swell Lafayette's command, and both Washington and Rochambeau arrived with their combined force, Cornwallis found his army of 7,800 facing 16,000 troops, artillery, and engineers, who were already busy snaking trenches through the sandy soil toward his redoubts. He must have looked longingly out to sea as the first artillery barrage fell on Yorktown.

French guns and the heavy guns of myopic, overweight Henry Knox hammered the British trench works and the town. Other faces were part of the encircling army who had stayed with the cause since Breed's and Bunker Hill in '75. In a bold sally, Captain Alexander Hamilton led his command in a rush that captured a key British redoubt. The sound of shovels filled the night as the allied trenches and guns moved closer. General Howe would have remembered: "Never give the rebels time to dig."

On September 5, Admiral de Grasse sortied out from Chesapeake Bay and turned away an inferior force led by British Admiral Graves. With Clinton holed up in New York and every escape route closed, Cornwallis asked for a truce on October 17. Two days later, his army marched into captivity between silent ranks of American and French soldiers. Standing with the American officers, Lafayette remarked: "Sir, the play is over."

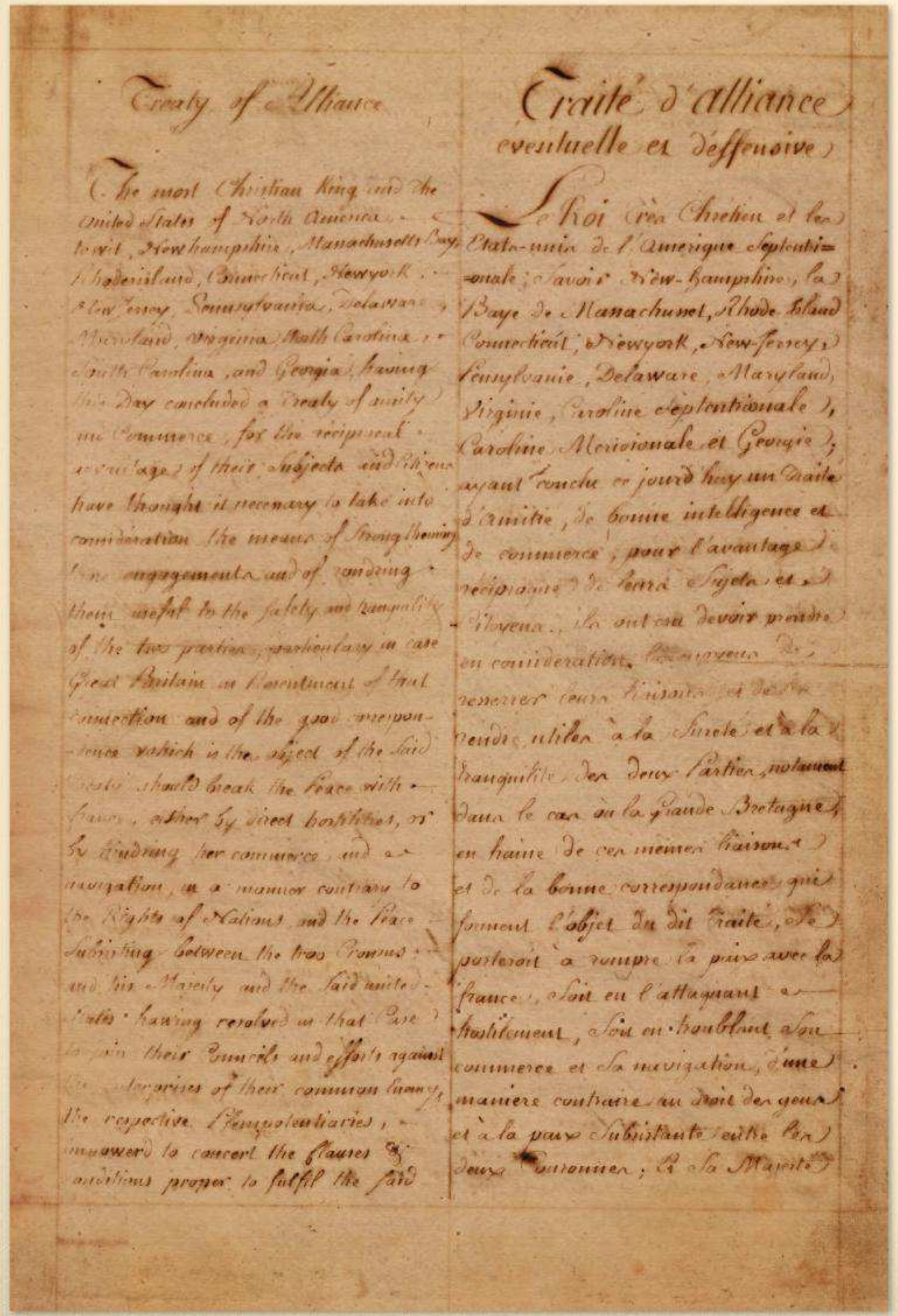
ARTILLERY SIEGE

During the siege of Yorktown, Virginia in September-October 1781, French and American troops used howitzers and mortars to lob heated shot and explosive shells into the town and the British redoubts. Starting at 1,000 yards, Allied gunners used trenches to move the guns forward. The British 44-gun frigate Charon and several buildings were set afire. By October 17, a Hessian soldier wrote: "... There was nothing to see but bombs and cannon balls raining down on our lines."



TREATY OF ALLIANCE

BELOW: The Treaty of Alliance brought France into the Revolution on the United States' side. The French could now openly back the colonies with troops, ships, and weapons, where before they had been forced to aid the United States covertly. Burgoyne's defeat sealed the deal.

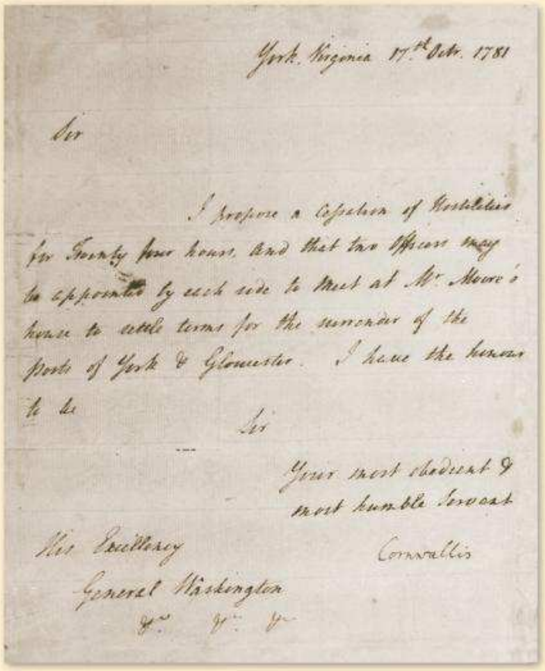


Treaty of Alliance

The most Christian King and the united States of North America to wit, New hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhodeisland, Connecticut, Newyork, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, having this Day concluded a Treaty of amity and Commerce, for the reciprocal advantage of their Subjects and Citizens have thought it necessary to take into consideration the means of strengthening those engagements and of rendering them useful to the safety and tranquility of the two parties, particularly in case Great Britain in Resentment of that connection and of the good correspondence which is the object of the said Treaty should break the Peace with France, either by direct hostilities, or by hindering her commerce and navigation, in a manner contrary to the Rights of Nations and the Peace subsisting between the two Crowns and his Majesty and the said united States having resolved in that Case to join their Councils and efforts against the enterprises of their common Enemy, the respective Plenipotentiaries, impowered to concert the Clauses & conditions proper to fulfil the said

Traité d'alliance
eventuelle et deffensive

Le Roi Très Chretien et les Etats-unis de l'Amerique Septentrionale; savoir New-hampshire, la Baye de Massachusset, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Newyork, New-Jersey, Pensylvanie, Delaware, Maryland, Virginie, Caroline Septentrionale, Caroline Meridionale et Georgie, ayant conclu ce jourd'huy un Traité d'amitié, de bonne intelligence et de commerce, pour l'avantage reciproque de leurs Sujets et Citoyens, ils ont cru devoir prendre en consideration les moyens de resserrer leurs liaisons et de les rendre utiles à la sureté et à la tranquilité des deux Parties, notament dans le cas où la Grande Bretagne, en haine de ces mêmes liaisons et de la bonne correspondance qui forment l'objet du dit Traité, se porteroit à rompre la paix avec la France, soit en l'attaquant hostilement, soit en troublant son commerce et sa navigation, d'une maniere contraire au droit des gens et à la paix subsistante entre les deux Couronnes; et Sa Majesté



York Virginia 17th Octr. 1781

Sir

I propose a Cessation of Hostilities for Twenty four hours, and that two Officers may be appointed by each side to meet at Mr. Moore's house to settle terms for the surrender of the posts of York & Gloucester. I have the honour to be

Sir

Your most obedient &
most humble Servant

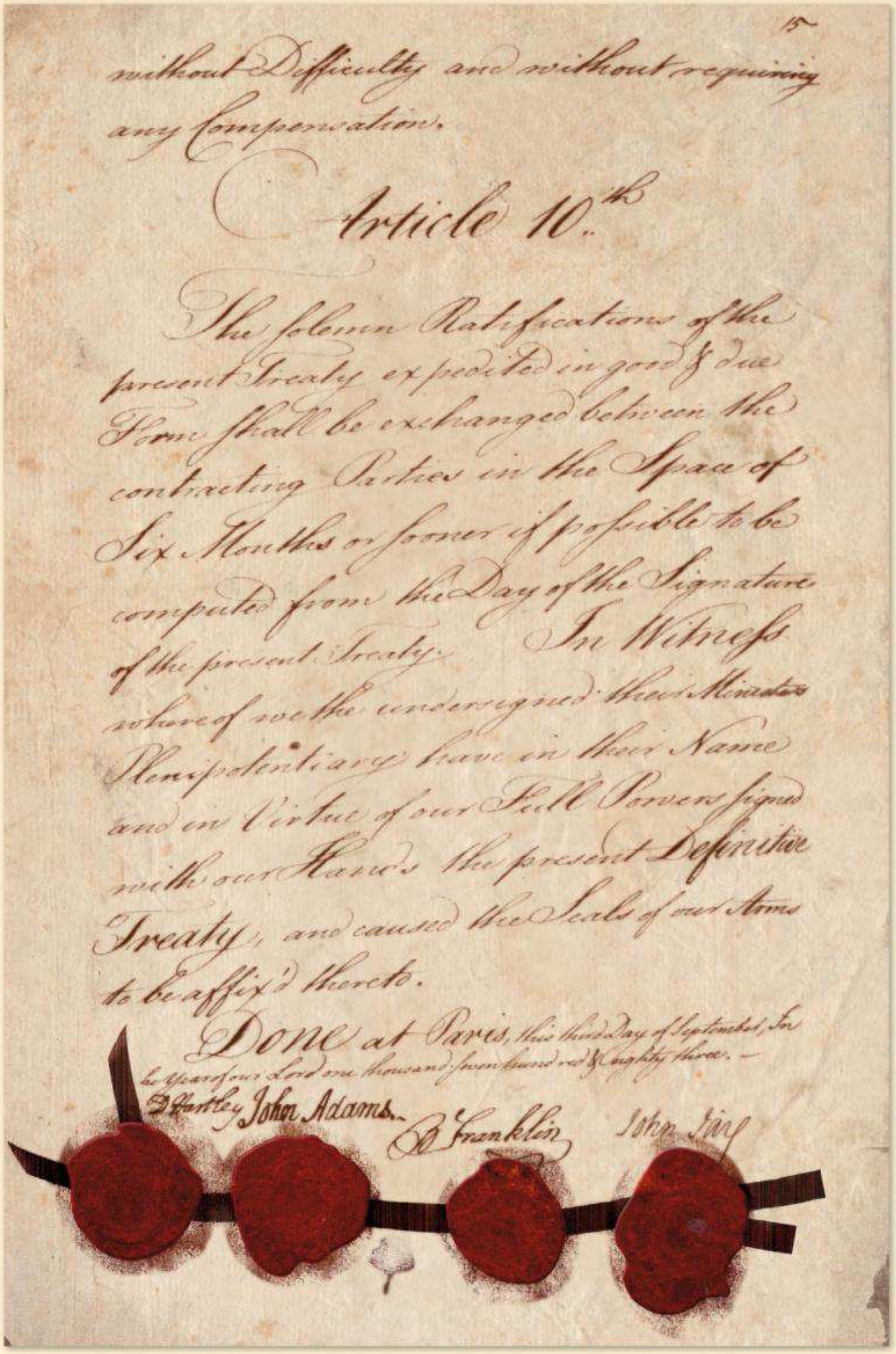
Cornwallis

His Excellency
General Washington
&c. &c. &c.

LETTER TO WASHINGTON

ABOVE: British General Cornwallis penned this letter to General George Washington on October 17, 1781, asking for a truce. Cornwallis had sent another letter to British General Clinton in New York, stating the impossible position of the Yorktown fortifications.

> *"I PROPOSE A CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES FOR TWENTY-FOUR HOURS, AND THAT TWO OFFICERS MAY BE APPOINTED BY EACH SIDE, TO MEET AT MR. MOORE'S HOUSE, TO SETTLE TERMS"*
>
> General Cornwallis
> October 17, 1781



15

without Difficulty and without requiring any Compensation.

Article 10th.

The ſolemn Ratifications of the present Treaty expedited in good & due Form ſhall be exchanged between the contracting Parties in the Space of Six Months or ſooner if poſsible to be computed from the Day of the Signature of the present Treaty. In Witneſs whereof we the underſigned their Ministers Plenipotentiary have in their Name and in Virtue of our Full Powers ſigned with our Hands the present Definitive Treaty, and caused the Seals of our Arms to be affix'd thereto.

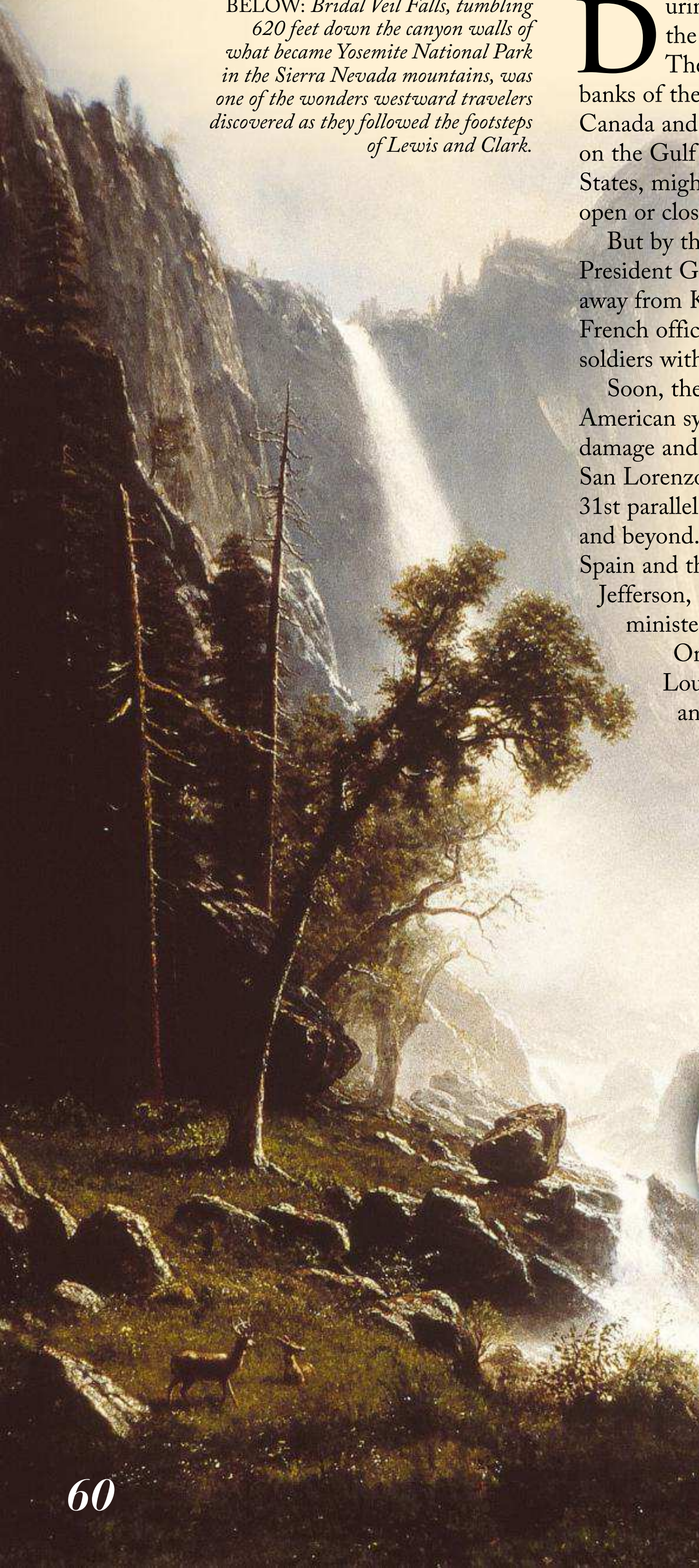
Done at Paris, this third Day of September, In he Year of our Lord one thousand ſeven hundred & Eighty three. –

D Hartley John Adams. B Franklin John Jay

THE TREATY OF PARIS

ABOVE: The Treaty of Paris, signed in 1783, ended all conflict between Great Britain and the United States, and introduced the former British colonies to the world as a free and independent country.

AMERICA LOOKS WEST FOR ELBOW ROOM



BELOW: *Bridal Veil Falls, tumbling 620 feet down the canyon walls of what became Yosemite National Park in the Sierra Nevada mountains, was one of the wonders westward travelers discovered as they followed the footsteps of Lewis and Clark.*

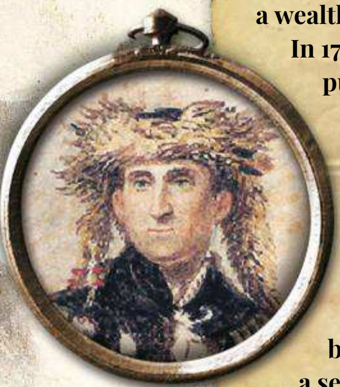
During the tumultuous times the United States experienced under the government of the Articles of Confederation, Spain was the largest landholder in North America. The King of Spain owned Florida, coastal land in Alabama, Mississippi, and the banks of the Mississippi River from Natchez to the Gulf of Mexico, everything south of Canada and west of that river. Spain wanted to control the Mississippi River and its port on the Gulf of Mexico as a barrier against any expansionist ideas their new ally, the United States, might entertain. East of the river, many of the states planned to turn the waterway – open or closed to navigation – to their financial gain.

But by the time the Americans had created their Constitution and the new Congress and President George Washington were taking office, the French were wresting their government away from King Louis XVI in the Revolution of 1789. Also at this time, a certain young French officer of Corsican birth told his fellow officers that: "Revolutions are ideal times for soldiers with a bit of wit and the courage to act."

Soon, the new French Republic had declared war on Britain and Spain. This war split American sympathies, but being non-combatants, their primary interest was how to avoid damage and somehow come out ahead. This the United States managed with the Treaty of San Lorenzo, signed on October 27, 1795. The border with Spanish Florida was fixed at the 31st parallel and the Mississippi River was opened for American trade to the Gulf of Mexico and beyond. However, by the turn of the century, the French had negotiated Louisiana from Spain and that Corsican officer – Napoleon Bonaparte – needed cash. President Thomas Jefferson, former minister to France James Monroe, and the current resident French minister Robert R. Livingston, offered to accommodate Napoleon.

On July 14, 1803, a courier handed President Jefferson an envelope containing the Louisiana Purchase, which had been signed on April 30, together with Livingston's and Monroe's cover letter. The letter noted, apologetically that they had managed:

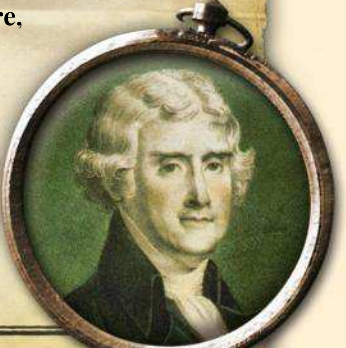
MERIWETHER LEWIS

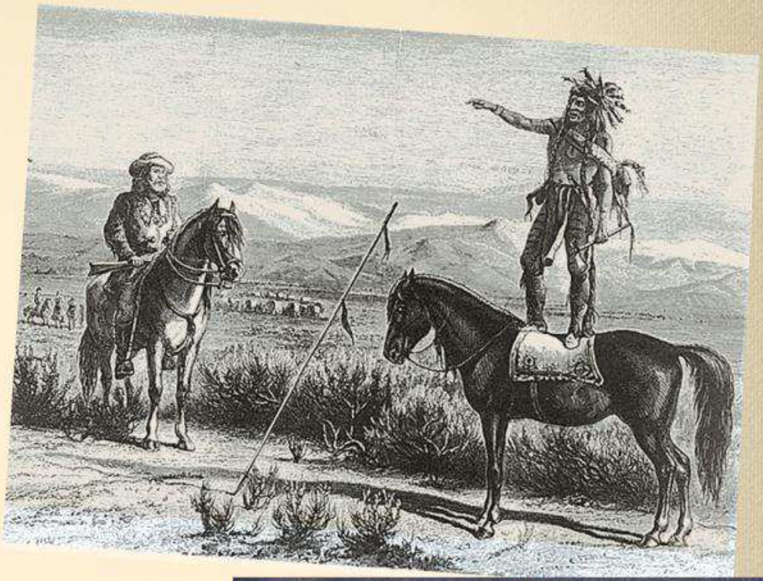


Virginian Meriwether Lewis (1774-1809), the son of a wealthy father, had an adventurous disposition. In 1794, he volunteered with the troops who put down the Whiskey Rebellion in western Pennsylvania. His natural curiosity led him west where he learned Indian languages and woodcraft. A neighbor of Thomas Jefferson, he became the President's personal secretary and was invited to explore the territory of the Louisiana Purchase. Following that triumph, he became moody and withdrawn, dying from a self-inflicted pistol shot in a tavern near Nashville, Tennessee.

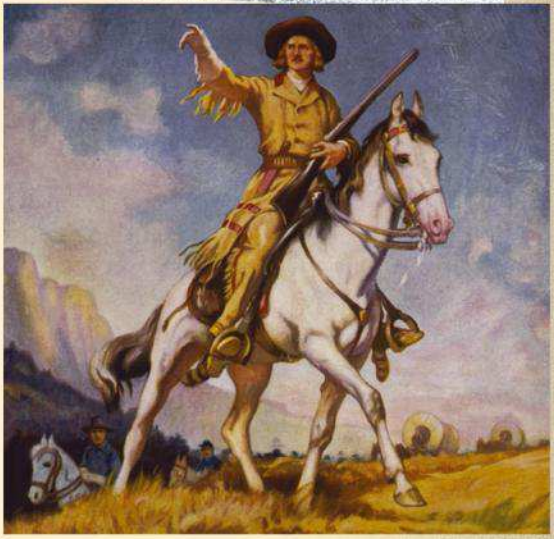
PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

When Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) became the United States' third President in 1801, the formality of the office, if not its importance, took a decided turn. A quiet and scholarly man, his interests included agriculture, horticulture, archaeology, philosophy, architecture, and invention. The presidential residence lost its armed guard at the front entrance and the president himself often answered the door, sometimes in a robe and slippers.





ABOVE: *Standing on the back of his pony, a war chief in full headdress warns the scout for a distant wagon train that entry into the tribe's land will require some negotiation – usually the transfer of a few horses or muskets.*

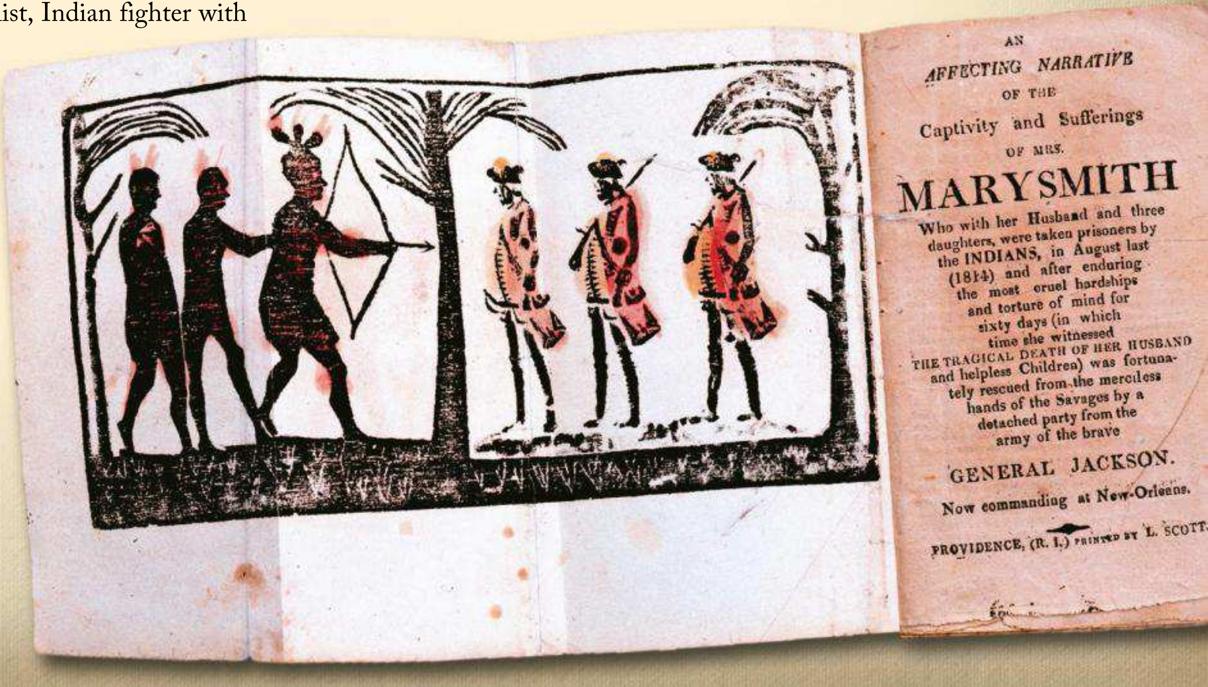


RIGHT: *The romantic image of the trailblazing adventurer of the early 19th Century was only partly true. Life was hard on the prairie or in the mountains and basic tools were inadequate.*

"An acquisition of so great an extent [that] was, we well know, not contemplated by our appointment." For $15 million that "acquisition" amounted to over 529 million acres – at three cents an acre – of western land. Curiously, Napoleon sold what he did not yet own. A month after the purchase was signed, Spain formally ceded the land to France.

The American odyssey was turning west and this purchase threw open the gates. On January 18, 1803, three months before the purchase was signed, President Jefferson sent a secret letter to Congress asking for $2,500 to fund an expedition that would cross the Mississippi River, head west and keep going. "The interests of commerce," he wrote, "place the principal object within the constitutional powers and care of Congress. That it should incidentally advance the geographic knowledge of our own continent," he added, "can not but be an additional gratification."

Lieutenant Meriwether Lewis, naturalist, Indian fighter with a knowledge of their languages and, in 1801 Jefferson's private secretary, had begun extensive preparation with known travelers' accounts and maps of Louisiana. Meticulously, Lewis planned a two-year journey into the uncharted west. He called upon an Army friend, William Clark, to accompany him and the "Corps of Discovery." Clark was a brilliant choice. An engineer with knowledge of topography and surveying, he also knew and respected many of the Indian tribes they would encounter. As Lewis and Clark prepared to move out, other Americans loaded wagons, hitched up their oxen, and added their number to the great westward migration.

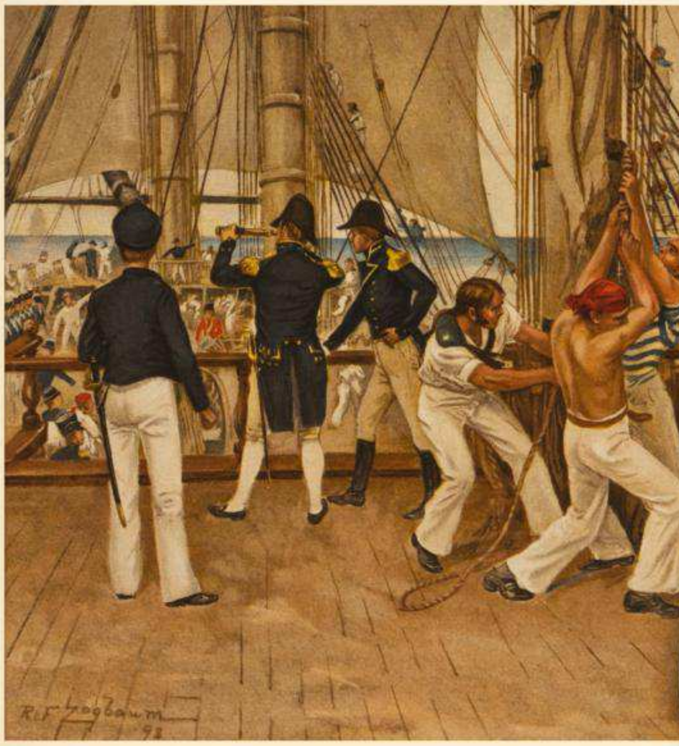


AN
AFFECTING NARRATIVE
OF THE
Captivity and Sufferings
OF MRS.
MARYSMITH
Who with her Husband and three
daughters, were taken prisoners by
the INDIANS, in August last
(1814) and after enduring
the most cruel hardships
and torture of mind for
sixty days (in which
time she witnessed
THE TRAGICAL DEATH OF HER HUSBAND
and helpless Children) was fortuna-
tely rescued from the merciless
hands of the Savages by a
detached party from the
army of the brave
GENERAL JACKSON.
Now commanding at New-Orleans.

PROVIDENCE, (R. I.) PRINTED BY L. SCOTT.

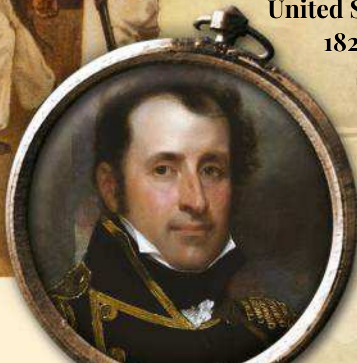
RIGHT: *Elbow room meant braving contact with the Indians, who were still touchy about their treatment by both the Americans and the British before and after the war. Warnings, like this booklet, were widely circulated.*

THE UNITED STATES ASSERTS ITSELF – THE TRIPOLITAN WAR



LEFT: *American sailors of the early 18th Century make sail. The Constitution sailed with a crew of 400 carrying provisions for cruises on the high seas that lasted months.*

STEPHEN DECATUR



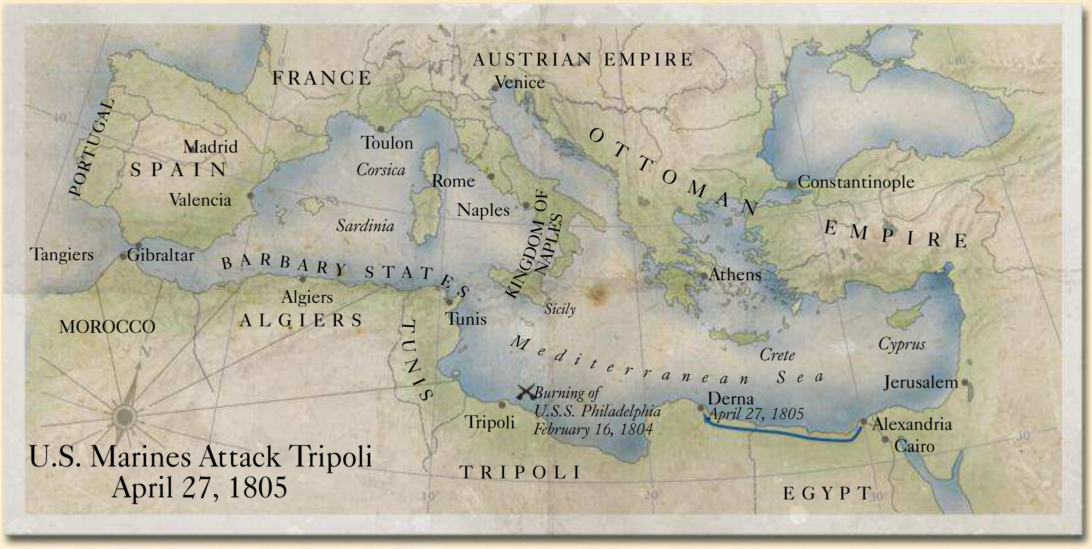
One of the most important naval commanders in United States history, Stephen Decatur (1779-1820) became master of the frigate United States after serving on her as an ensign. He captained the ship to victory over the British frigate Macedonian in the War of 1812. Later, he was victorious over the Barbary pirates in the Mediterranean and made his famous, hubris-laden toast: “Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be right; but our country, right or wrong!”

Many things were on Thomas Jefferson’s mind as he walked the two blocks from his boarding house to the Capitol building on March 4, 1801. First off, his legs itched. He was the first president to be sworn in wearing long pants, instead of knee britches. Next, he wanted to heal the wounds of the election, the personal attacks, and harsh invective. And finally, there were the Barbary pirates.

Since the end of the revolution in 1783, American shipping in the Mediterranean had been victimized by pirates. Using long galleys powered by oars and lateen sails, the corsairs staged their raids from bays and coves along the shores of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Tripolitania. Armed with swivel guns mounted fore and aft, they cowed unarmed merchant vessels and steered sailors and cargo into captivity to be sold as slaves or ransomed. To avoid these attacks, countries that were already involved in conflicts elsewhere found it easier to pay tribute to the Mediterranean pashas who controlled the pirates and to concentrate on one war at a time.

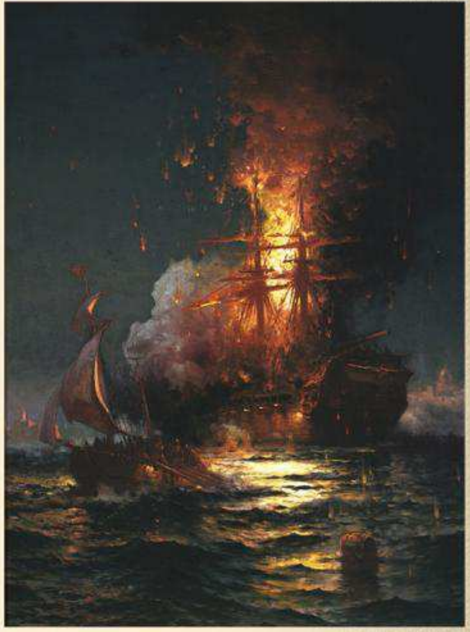
By 1803, the United States navy had a squadron of six heavy frigates. The idea of paying tribute to the Bashaw Yusuf Karamanli of Tripolitania raised the hackles of President Jefferson, Secretary of State James Madison, and Secretary of War Henry Dearborn. By the time Jefferson was sworn in, the United States had paid over $2 million to the pirates’ masters. Whenever the Bashaw deemed payments were too small or late, he would send an overwhelming platoon to the American Consul and chop down the flagpole. The insult to American colors was interpreted in the United States as an act of war.

Commodore Richard Dale, with a small fleet of frigates, suggested convoying American merchant ships from port to port. Meanwhile, the sloop Enterprise was returning from Malta when a Barbary corsair, the Tripoli, appeared hull up on the horizon. Flying a British ensign to draw the pirate closer, Lieutenant Andrew Sterrett waited until the captain of the corsair, Admiral Rais Mahomet Rous, called across that he was hunting Americans. Sterrett ran up the Stars and Stripes and opened fire. American gunnery tore into the 14-gun warship. When Rais tried to grapple, US Marines swept the deck with musket fire. Rais lowered his colors in surrender, but when Sterrett moved in to accept, the admiral raised them again and fired. Sterrett pounded the pirate into a sinking wreck, killed most of the crew, and left Rais bobbing in the sea beneath a jury-rigged mast. When the defeated admiral arrived in front of the Bashaw, the


FRANCE
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
Venice
PORTUGAL
Madrid
SPAIN
Valencia
Toulon
Corsica
Rome
Naples
Sardinia
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Constantinople
KINGDOM OF NAPLES
Tangiers
Gibraltar
BARBARY STATES
Athens
Algiers
ALGIERS
TUNIS
Tunis
Sicily
MOROCCO
Mediterranean Sea
Crete
Cyprus
Jerusalem
Burning of U.S.S. Philadelphia February 16, 1804
Derna April 27, 1805
Tripoli
Alexandria
Cairo
TRIPOLI
EGYPT
U.S. Marines Attack Tripoli April 27, 1805

LEFT: *The early 19th Century Mediterranean was dominated by a multiplicity of North African kingdoms who exacted tribute from European and American traders. The US Marines crossed the desert from Alexandria to capture Derna in Tripoli, helping to win the right to free trade.*

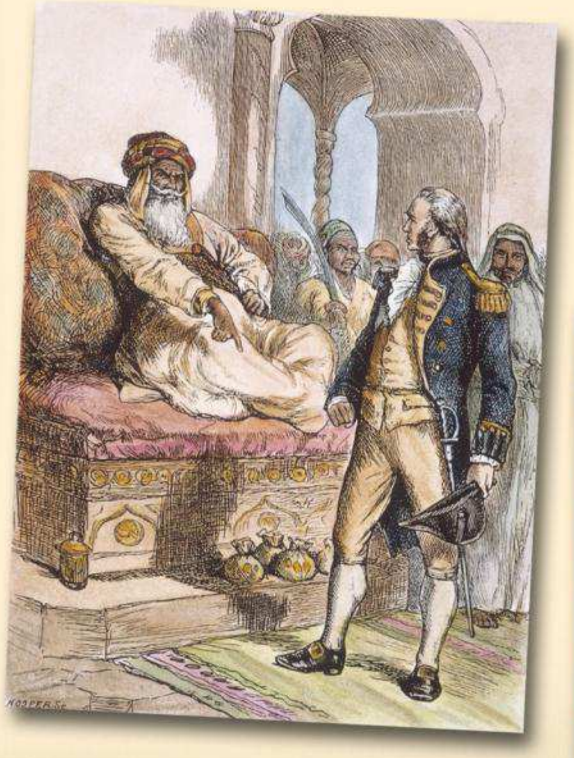
BELOW: *Captain Stephen Decatur leading a party of American sailors, seized the captured American ship, Philadelphia and set it ablaze rather than let it be used against the American squadron.*



humiliated monarch sent the wretched Rais through the streets of Tripoli riding backwards on a jackass with sheep entrails wrapped around his neck, and later awarded him 500 lashes on the soles of his feet.

With diplomacy exhausted, Commodore Edward Preble appeared off Tripoli with a squadron of American warships. During the maneuvering, the frigate Philadelphia ran aground. It was towed away by the Bashaw's sailors and its crew imprisoned for a $200,000 ransom. The answer was a daring raid by Lieutenant Stephen Decatur on the night of February 16, 1804, during which the captured frigate was burnt to the waterline. Preble's squadron then began a crashing bombardment of Tripoli.

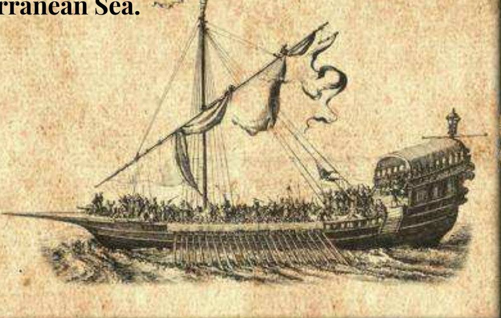
As the guns continued to roar, the United States launched land and sea attacks, including an assault by United States Marines leading a polyglot force of mercenaries, who seized the harbor fortress of Derna on April 25, 1805. With the US navy kicking at his front door and Marines swarming from the desert at his back, the Bashaw reached for his pen. On June 4, 1805, he signed a treaty in the main cabin of the frigate Constitution giving American shipping unmolested use of the North African ports.



ABOVE: *William Bainbridge, captain of the frigate George Washington, and later the Philadelphia, delivers tribute money from the United States to the Dey of Algiers in 1800. He was later imprisoned with his crew.*

PIRATE GALLEY

The pirates of the Barbary Coast employed slender oar-powered galleys rowed by slaves, which easily closed on merchant ships that relied on the soft breezes crossing the Mediterranean Sea. Armament consisted of swivel guns mounted along the sides and one or two big guns in the bows. But their chief weapon was the crew, often numbering 100 or more, armed with curved swords, pistols, and muskets, who swarmed aboard their victims' ships.



A SENSELESS DUEL & THE CORPS OF DISCOVERY

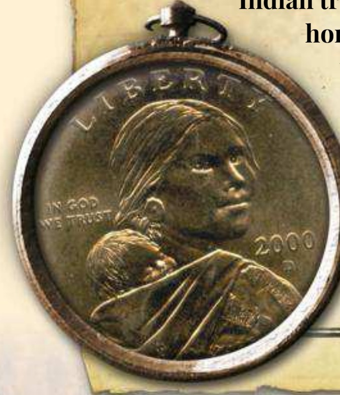
The 19th Century was still young when two men faced each other bound by old-world ritual and two others stepped off into a new world of discovery.

On July 11, 1804, Alexander Hamilton faced Aaron Burr at an early morning duel in a field in Weehawken, New Jersey. Hamilton had fought with distinction in the Revolution as a captain of artillery. The intellect of the brilliant former Secretary of the Treasury was vast, and determined when challenged. Aaron Burr served four years in the Revolution, developed into a canny politician, and became Thomas Jefferson's vice president in 1800. Also brilliant and ambitious, he was considered by Hamilton and many of his contemporaries to be a political schemer.

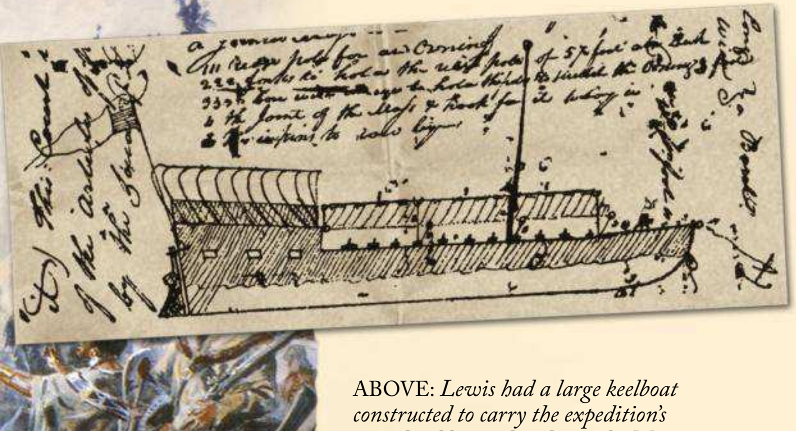
Hamilton's and Burr's personal antagonism erupted in an exchange of letters so insulting that only a duel could save each man's "honor." They faced each other from 10 paces that summer morning, and in an exchange of shots two promising careers were shattered. Hamilton fell with a bullet lodged against his spine, to die the next day in excruciating pain. Burr was indicted for murder and fled. His reputation shattered, he became involved in a scheme to set himself up as Aaron I, emperor of the West. After numerous failed European ventures, he returned to the US, often using the name Aaron Edwards, and lived in obscurity until his death in 1836.

On May 30, 1804, Captain Meriwether Lewis, Captain William Clark, and a collection of rugged adventurers calling themselves the Corps of Discovery began the exploration of the territories of the new Louisiana Purchase. This acquisition of this tract of land had virtually

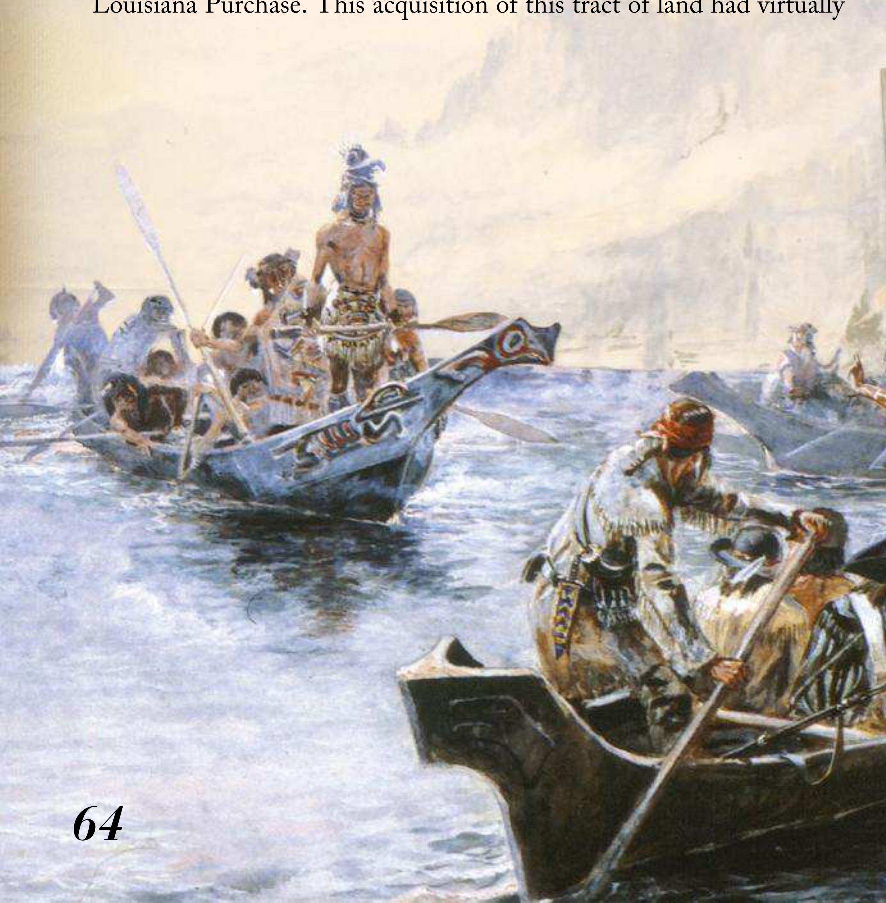
SACAGAWEA INDIAN INTERPRETER



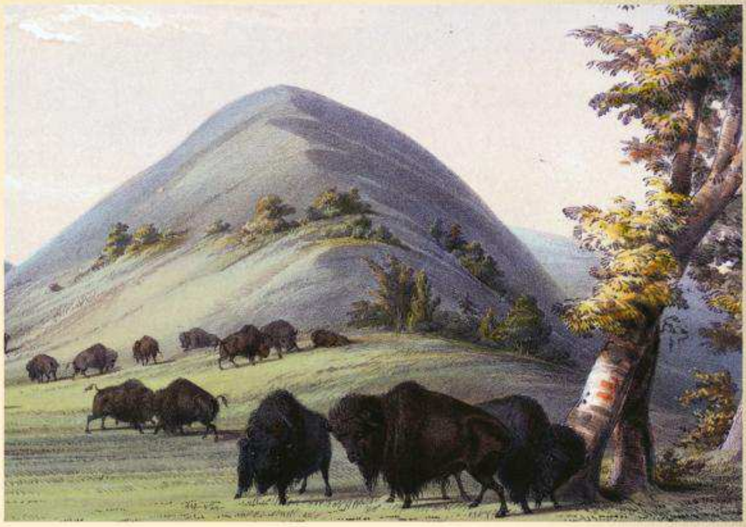
On Lewis and Clark's exploration of the Louisiana Purchase, Sacagawea's husband, Toussaint Charbonneau, was hired as an interpreter. Sacagawea came along as an unofficial member because Lewis and Clark thought she could help speak to some of the Indian tribes and also assist with trading horses from her native Shoshone tribe. Sacagawea (1787-1812) had been stolen by the Hidatsa from her native Shoshone tribe. In Hidatsa her name was Tsi-ki-ka-wi-as, "Bird Woman" In Shoshone, her name means "Boat Pusher."



ABOVE: *Lewis had a large keelboat constructed to carry the expedition's considerable supplies down the Missouri River. Powered by oars as it headed upstream, the boat had a shallow draft. William Clark drew this sketch.*



LEFT: *Meriwether Lewis and William Clark lead their "Corps of Discovery" on the Lower Columbia River. Sacagawea helped the two parties communicate and the Black crew member, York, fascinated the Indians.*



RIGHT: *Millions of American bison – called buffalo – roamed the western plains. They were used by the Indian tribes for food and clothing. Early settlers depended on their meat, their hides and their dried dung – buffalo chips – to build fires. The animals were hunted almost to extinction.*

doubled the size of the United States. During two years of planning, Lewis, with meticulous attention to detail, attempted to account for every contingency. Gunpowder for the expedition's rifles was stored in cans made of lead. Once opened, the powder was shared out and the can melted down to make bullets. To conserve powder, an air rifle was included in their arsenal, as well as a small cannon to assert their authority. Twenty-one barrels of flour and 193 pounds of "portable soup" were stowed in sealed cans. The most important camp tool was the tomahawk; used to cut wood, hammer nails, start a fire with flint, and with its hollow head serving as a pipe.

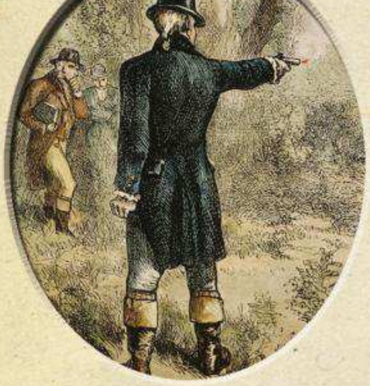
Expedition members were carefully chosen for their skills: boatmen, blacksmiths, gunsmiths, foragers, hunters, and cooks. Both Lewis and Clark kept extensive journals and logs of weather, new plants and animals, geology, and topographic maps. They carried sextants, a portable map-making kit and surveying equipment, but many of their discoveries came through the help of local Indian tribes.

The explorers developed good relations with most of the tribes they met. They hired a 17-year-old Shoshone Indian woman named Sacagawea as an interpreter. She also gathered medicinal plants and food and shared her knowledge of living on the plains.

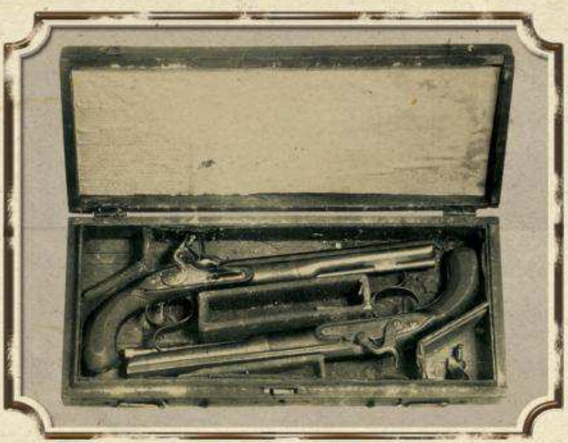
The men learned to make pemmican from dried meat, berries, and fat pounded into cakes as "energy bars." Once, Sacagawea rescued journals and medicines from a tipped canoe. The Corps of Discovery continued west past the boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, climbed through Rocky Mountain passes, and journeyed down the Columbia River to the Pacific Ocean at the Oregon coast. After traveling 8,000 miles over 28 months, on September 23, 1806, the Corps of Discovery, having been given up for dead, once again docked in St. Louis, Missouri, to the elated cheers of 5,000 westerners. Lewis and Clark became enduring symbols of the new west.

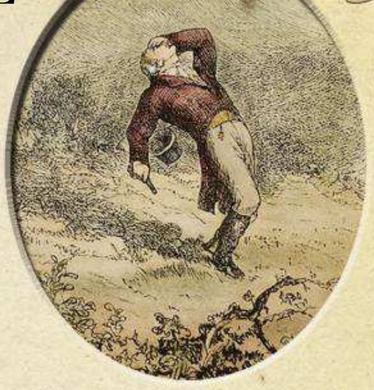
BELOW: *Aaron Burr fires the fatal bullet that cut down Alexander Hamilton and lodged next to his spine. The two men were both brilliant, but also flawed by their arrogance and ambition. Burr eventually died a ruined man.*

Weapons of the Duel



Aaron Burr

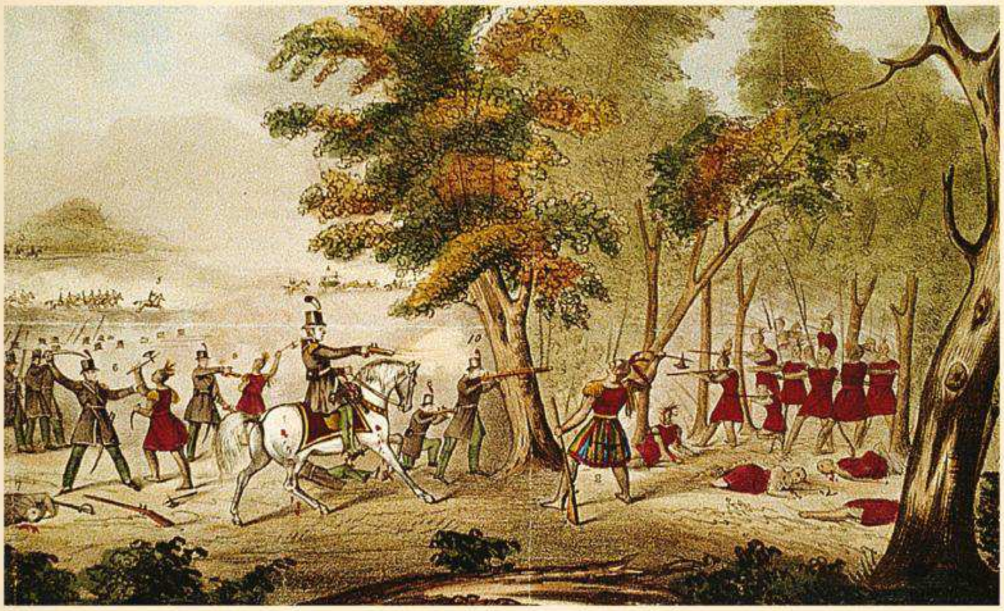




Alexander Hamilton

Though swords were as fashionable among eastern gentlemen as were knives down south (used in fights with the wrists tied together), pistols were the American duelist's most common weapon. One of the wronged parties would provide the single shot pistols, often in an elegantly boxed set. Seconds loaded the pistols with great care under strict observation. Shots were fired any time after the command to fire. Distances between duelists varied between 10 and 20 paces.

TROUBLE WITH BRITAIN – AGAIN

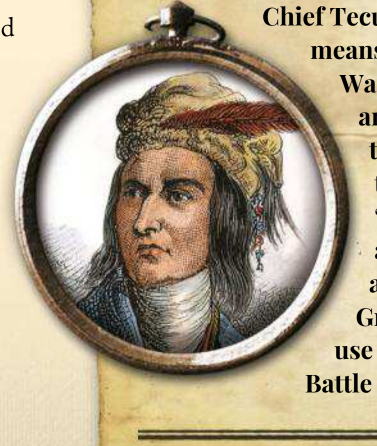


LEFT: *The battle of Tippecanoe pitted an army of American troops against the Shawnee under Chief Tecumseh in 1811. The outcome of the battle made a hero out of Indiana Territory Governor William Henry Harrison.*

By 1812, the United States had just over seven million people spread over 18 states and four large territories. In the salons of Europe, Americans were considered unlettered and vulgar. If the badly cooked food didn't kill you, the Red Indians would. Hygiene was spotty and the roads were mud tracks. From one state to another a traveler could hardly untangle English from the local idiom, and if the villages were rough, the growing cities were raw and uncouth, teeming with foul smells. But for all that, there were opportunities not available anywhere else. Multitudes from the British Isles and Europe crowded onto sailing vessels to seek their fortune in the United States.

One blemish on this Elysian state of affairs was the fact that the United States was still at war with Great Britain, 29 years after the Treaty of Paris had ended the Revolution. The British in Canada wanted to keep their forts around the Great Lakes. They encouraged the Indians to attack the settlers who were pouring into Kentucky, Ohio, and the Illinois Territory. At sea, American ships were turned away from trading with British colonies and had to slip into obscure ports to evade these trade laws. This trade friction had earlier been aggravated by the declaration of war between France and Britain in 1793. France was the principal trade partner of the United States and more than 250 American ships were confiscated by British warships for carrying contraband. For 10 years, American diplomats, spurred by an outraged public and government, sought redress, compromise, or anything to ease the situation. When Napoleon heated up the war again in 1802, Britain began to press American sailors to fill the 150,000-man Royal Navy. "Once an Englishman, always an Englishman!" was the press-gang's cry, as American sailors were forced, tricked or shanghaied into the British ranks. Meanwhile, President Jefferson wanted nothing to do with war. After fending off the war "hawks" in Congress for two terms, he headed home to Monticello, Virginia, and left the problems to James Madison, America's fourth president. Britain kept up pressure on the Indians throughout the frontier, and settlers were terrified. Finally, in November 1811, Indiana Territory Governor William Henry Harrison managed to pull together 900 American troops for a raid on a large village at Tippecanoe, which was commanded by Shawnee Chief Tecumseh's brother, the prophet Tenskwatawa. The American troops triumphed and, buoyed up by

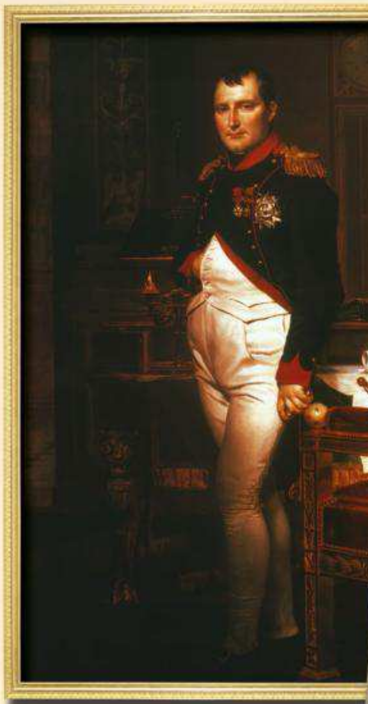
CHIEF TECUMSEH "CELESTIAL PANTHER"



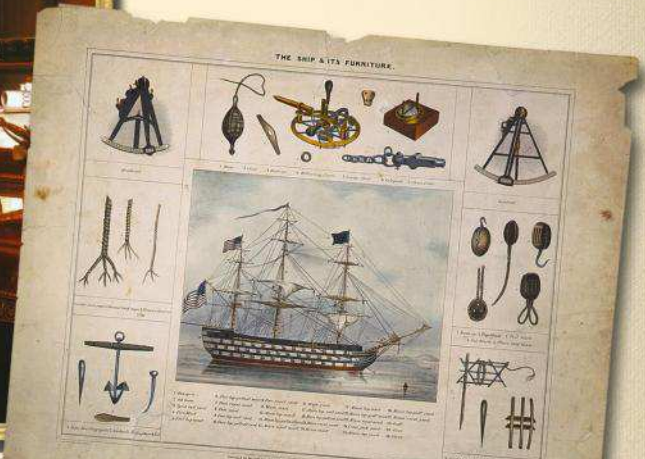
Chief Tecumseh (1768–1813), whose name means "Celestial Panther Laying in Wait," became a full warrior at age 14 and later rose to become chief of his tribe. When asked to sell some of the Shawnee land, Tecumseh said: "Sell a country? Why not sell the air, the clouds, and the great sea, as well as the Earth? Did not the Great Spirit make them all for the use of his children?" He died in the Battle of the Thames on October 5, 1813.

this victory, Congress urged Madison to give the British a final warning. The president fired off a demand for the elimination of trade restrictions on American ships. In truth, an American embargo on British trade was working. British merchants had realized they needed American trade, but the slow response of Parliament to Madison's ultimatum prompted a divided, partisan Congress to vote for war on Great Britain.

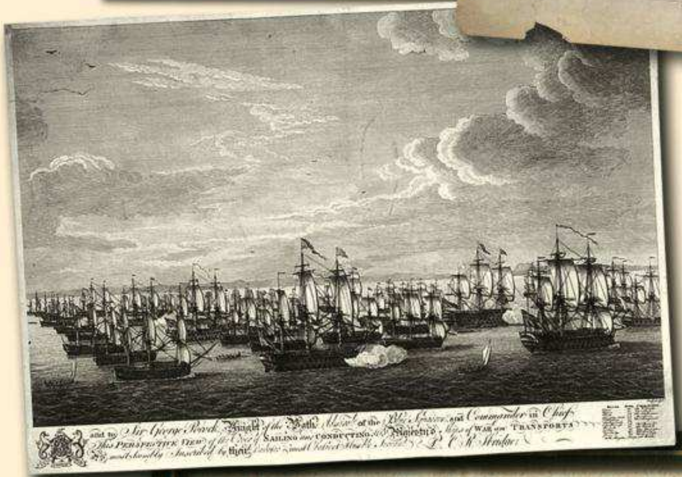
The United States was unprepared and had no plan and no strategy except the conquest of Canada. The American army was small, poorly trained, under-funded, and led by elderly generals out of touch with field command. The navy consisted of just 16 warships. Troops were rushed up toward American Fort Detroit to intimidate the British and Canadians into abandoning their ships and surrendering. But the unprepared army fell apart during the march and plans for their attack fell into British hands. The attack was a debacle. Next, in trying to evacuate Fort Dearborn before the Indians arrived, American Captain William Wells arrived late. He charged forward toward the swarm of Indians and, in a masterpiece of questionable judgment, began cursing the Indian chiefs. They shot him out of the saddle and ate his heart raw. So began the War of 1812.



LEFT: *Napoleon Bonaparte crowned himself Emperor of France in 1804 and, helped by the American dollars paid for Louisiana, he began the sack of Europe. Britain was dragged into war again, ending with Napoleon's final defeat at Waterloo (now in Belgium) on June 18, 1815.*


THE SHIP & ITS FURNITURE.

ABOVE: *An engraving showing an 18th Century three-decker American warship surrounded by the tools of seamanship of the period, from navigation to examples of sailors' tools and nautical skills.*

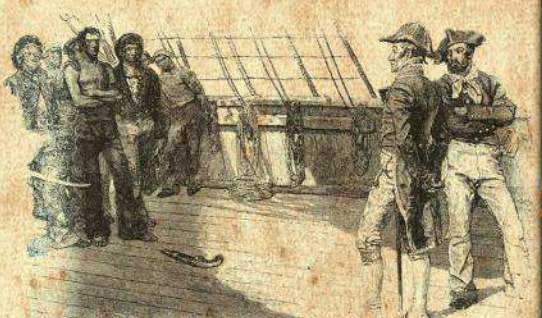


ABOVE RIGHT: *The British Royal Navy commanded the seas in the early nineteenth century as it continued to battle Napoleon Bonaparte. Its many ships needed crews and captains pressed sailors from American ships to serve in them.*

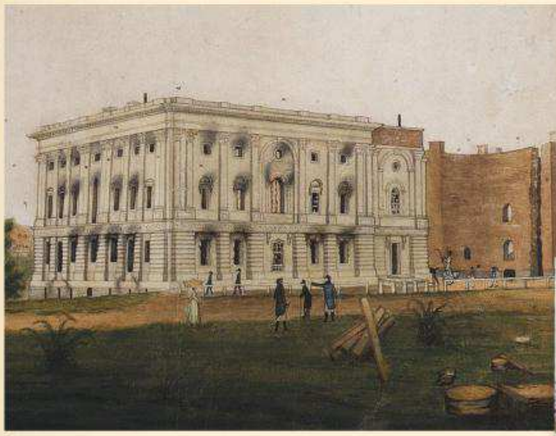
BELOW: *A swivel gun, commonly used to threaten smaller ships or subdue any resistance, when loaded with grape shot. Marines usually manned these swivel guns during ship-to-ship confrontations.*

BRITISH SAILOR'S LIFE

Life in the Royal Navy was brutal. During war, press gangs roamed England dragging off farmers, laborers, drunks, and petty criminals in exchange for "the King's shilling." Sailors learned by doing, spurred on with kicks and floggings. Food grew worse as scurvy wracked the crew after the fruit and vegetables were gone. Battle deaths and loss of limbs required frequent replacement crews. American sailors were frequent targets for the press gangs.

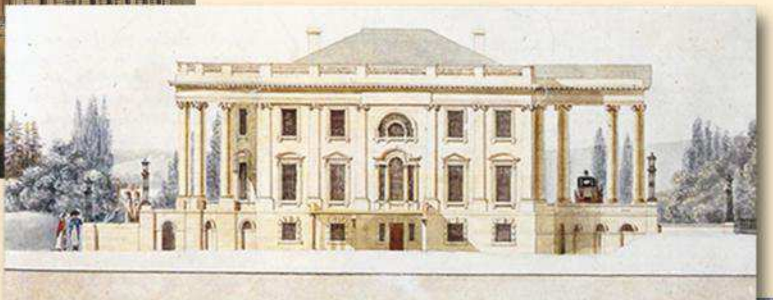


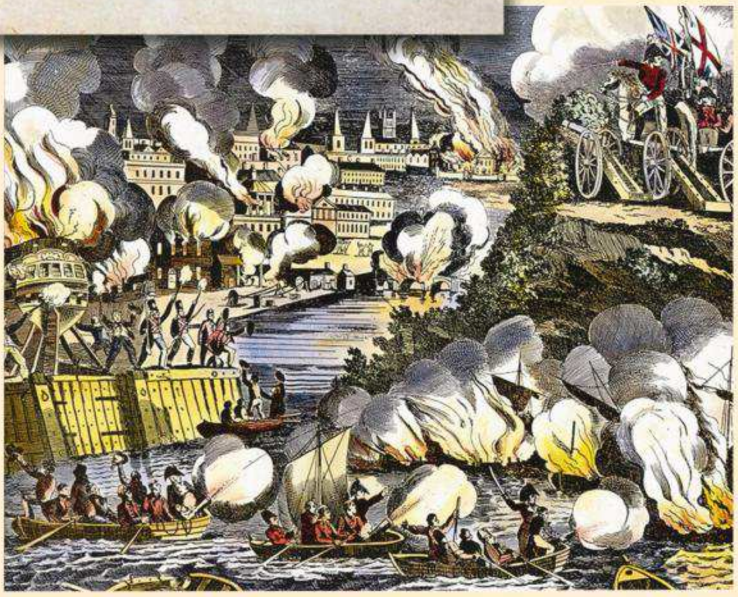
THE LAND WAR OF 1812



ABOVE: *A contemporary view of the burned Washington Capitol buildings following the British attack in 1814. Considerable damage had been done to federal buildings including the White House, which was gutted by fire.*

BELOW: *This view shows the east front of the President's House in Washington D.C. in 1807. The north and south porticos have been added here. In 1814, British soldiers marched in and ate the dinner that had been prepared for President Madison.*





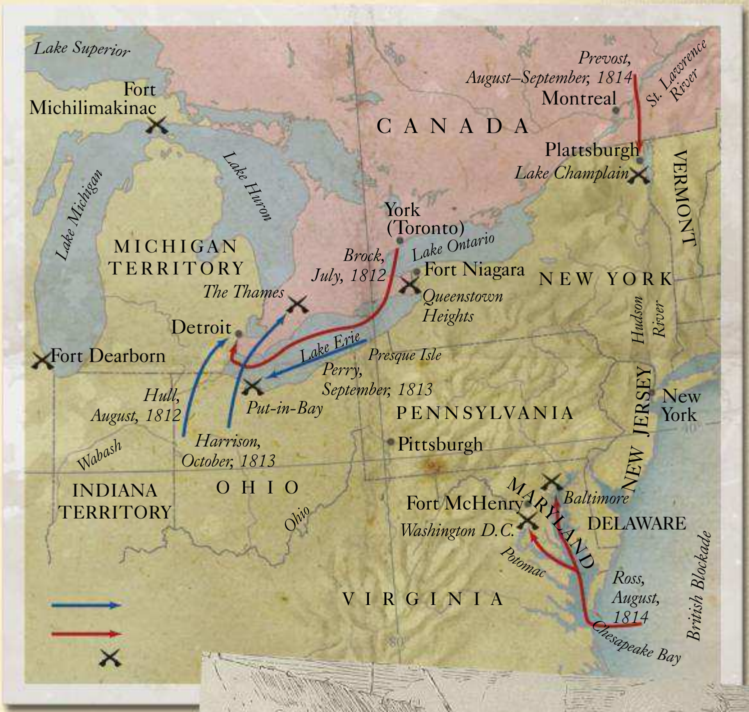
ABOVE: *Ships of the British fleet are shown bombarding Washington and sailing up the Potomac River as troops are landed for the march inland. Government buildings were put to the torch on August 24, 1814.*

For the most part, the land battles in the poorly planned invasion of Canada constituted one American disaster after another. No sooner had Forts Detroit and Dearborn fallen than the public, Congress, and President Madison demanded new generals and victories. Tecumseh's attempt to unite the Indians now drew previously reluctant tribes – Creek, Delaware, Cherokee, and Kickapoos – to attack frontier settlers. Ambushes and massacres of families and whole communities enraged the public back east, who had been expecting quick victories up north.

William Henry Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe, raised an army of keen-eyed woodsmen from Kentucky and Tennessee, and headed north to retake Fort Detroit. Patriotic zeal was dampened by torrential rains, swollen rivers, and impassable trails. He camped to wait for winter when frozen ground would be the Americans' ally. Meanwhile, British General Sir Isaac Brock with 1,600 troops and 300 Indians was seeking to defend against the crossing of the Niagara River by 6,000 American troops under General Stephen van Rensselaer. The inexperienced van Rensselaer divided his troops and on October 13 sent 800 troops across, having given orders for the rest of his army to cross downstream. This they failed to do and sat on the opposite bank while van Rensselaer's party under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Winfield Scott was shot up and captured. Unfortunately for the British, General Brock was killed, removing the best field commander they had.

Another attempt to ferry troops across the rushing Niagara River ended when 6,000 American infantry loaded into boats by General Alexander Smythe (who relieved Rensselaer), stopped in mid-stream and turned around. General Smythe retreated without explanation, calling off the expedition. He was quietly ousted from the army. Up at Lake Champlain, General Henry Dearborn's attack with 6,000 troops against Montreal on November 19, 1812, ran into trouble against the 1,900 British Canadian defenders. As the battlefield grew dark, the British troops withdrew, but the Americans pressed on. Dearborn's units became separated and soon began shooting at each other. Eventually, the general's army refused to go on and many of his troops packed up and went home because their enlistments had come

RIGHT: *The map shows the many fronts on which the land war of 1812 was fought. While the U. S. Army sought to attack Canada and control the Great Lakes, the British Navy sacked Washington and shot up Fort McHenry in Baltimore, Maryland.*

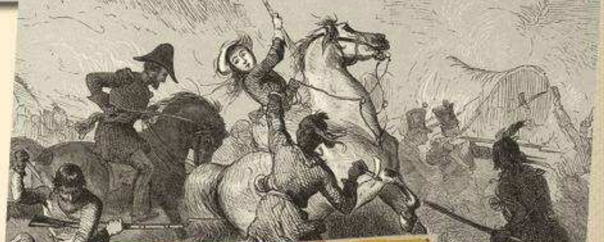

Lake Superior
Fort Michilimakinac
CANADA
Prevost, August–September, 1814
Montreal
St. Lawrence River
Plattsburgh
Lake Champlain
VERMONT
Lake Huron
Lake Michigan
MICHIGAN TERRITORY
York (Toronto)
Brock, July, 1812
Lake Ontario
Fort Niagara
Queenstown Heights
NEW YORK
The Thames
Detroit
Lake Erie
Presque Isle
Perry, September, 1813
Hudson River
Fort Dearborn
Hull, August, 1812
Put-in-Bay
NEW JERSEY
New York
PENNSYLVANIA
Wabash
Harrison, October, 1813
Pittsburgh
INDIANA TERRITORY
OHIO
Ohio
Fort McHenry
MARYLAND
Baltimore
DELAWARE
Washington D.C.
Potomac
Ross, August, 1814
British Blockade
VIRGINIA
Chesapeake Bay

to an end. Everywhere, what its critics called "Mr. Madison's War" was a disaster.

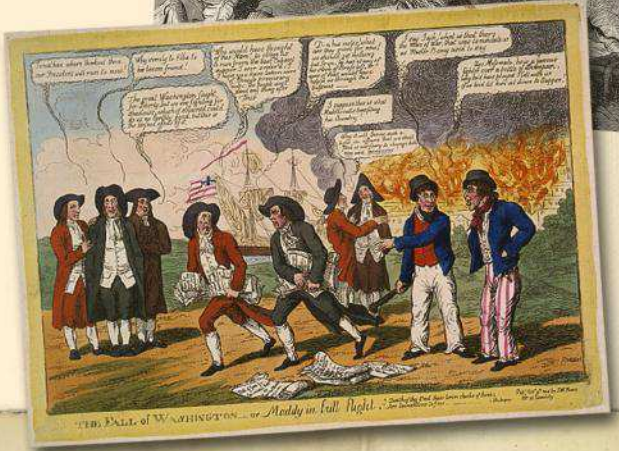
By 1814, the British had prepared a three-pronged invasion, which would eventually target New York, Washington, Baltimore, and New Orleans in the deep south. Their orders from Admiral Alexander Cochrane were to burn, sack, and pillage as payback for American tactics in the north. After entering Chesapeake Bay on August 14, and driving off gunboat defenses, General Robert Ross marched his troops into the nation's capital and put the city to the torch. President Madison's wife, Dolley, barely got out of the residence before British troops arrived to find the evening dinner still warm on the table. They ate, and then burned the President's house down.

By September 11, the British fleet was arrayed against Baltimore's Fort McHenry. Kept at a distance by sunken blockade ships, the cannonade rained over 1,800 solid shot and shells into the fort. Rockets were fired to show gunners their targets. Standing at the rail of a ship in the harbor, Francis Scott Key scratched the lines of a poem that ended when he saw the American Star Spangled Banner still flying from the fort's rampart after the 25-hour bombardment.

Cochrane withdrew his ships. Up north, the New York-bound second prong of the British attack was blunted by American naval action on Lake Champlain against a British fleet. All that remained of the invasion plan was the thrust at New Orleans, a prize whose loss would make the Yankees squirm.

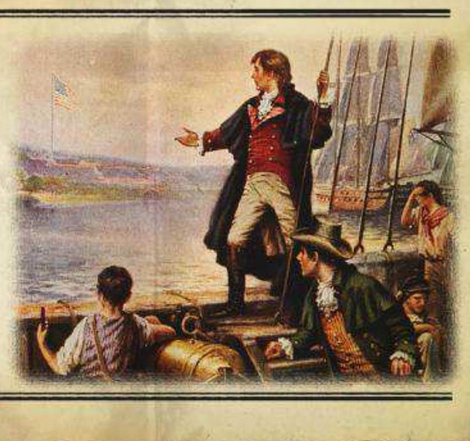


ABOVE RIGHT: *Mrs. Rebecca Heald, wife of Fort Dearborn commandant Nathan Heald, defends herself during the 1812 massacre. She was shot six times and scalped. Her husband was shot through the hips. Both survived and were ransomed from the Indians.*


THE FALL of WASHINGTON — or Maddy in Full Flight.

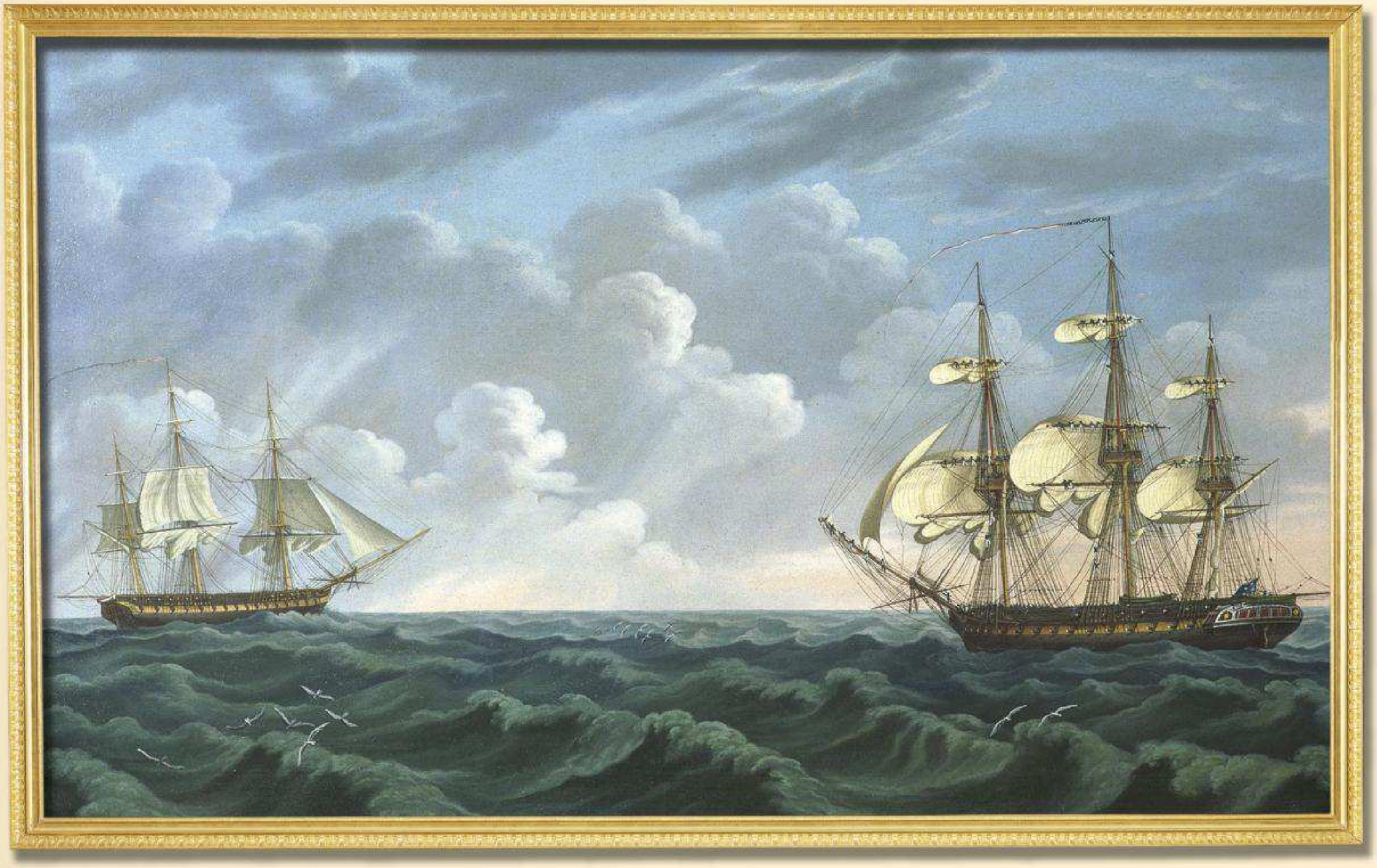
RIGHT: *"Maddy in Full Flight": a contemporary British cartoon comment on President James Madison and the burning of Washington, D.C. in August 1814. Many Americans as well as British blamed the war on President Madison's bowing to war "hawks" in Congress.*

FRANCIS SCOTT KEY



A young Georgetown lawyer, Francis Scott Key (1779-1843) was asked to help free a close friend, Dr. William Beanes, who was being held on a British ship anchored off Baltimore in Chesapeake Bay. Key was rowed to the ship but not allowed to leave during the bombardment of Fort McHenry. From a distance of about eight miles, he watched the 25-hour bombardment of the fort. At its end, the American flag was still flying and Key wrote down his famous poem under the title, "The Defense of Fort McHenry."

THE WAR AT SEA & THE END OF THE BEGINNING



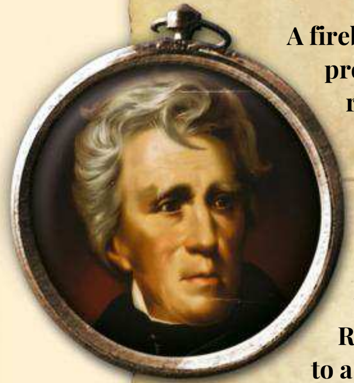
The large American frigate, Constitution, out-sailed the smaller British frigate, Guerrière captained by James Dacres, yet Dacres had demanded this showdown. The ships circled each other, maneuvering to gain the favorable wind, the gunner's advantage. Captain Isaac Hull, the Constitution's skipper, held his fire. The Royal Navy had over 600 warships, 120 of which were 50-80 gun ships of the line – two- and three-deckers. The Guerrière was one of 116 fast frigates – the greyhounds of the fleet. Still, the American ship sailed inside her, holding closer to the wind. Dacres had challenged any of the inferior American navy ships to meet him. Though rated as a frigate, the Constitution was 50 feet longer, had a wider beam and mounted 50 iron guns, 24-pounders thrust through the gun deck ports and 32-pound carronades lined the upper deck. Gun captains squinted along their barrels.

ABOVE: *The frigate Constitution closes in on the HMS Guerrière to begin a historic duel. British balls bounced off "Old Ironsides" and the American ship dismasted her British opponent.*

U.S. FRIGATE CONSTITUTION

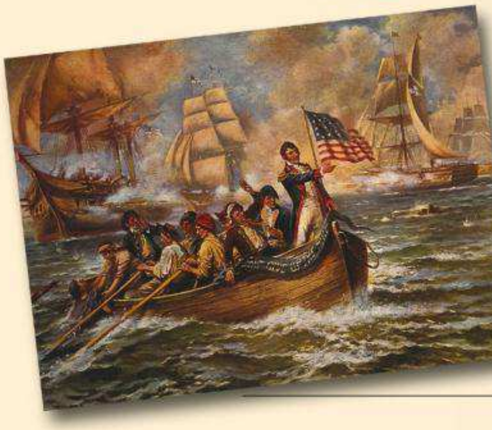
One of six frigates that made up the United States Navy at the start of the War of 1812, the Constitution was state-of-the-art at that time. Armed with 24-pound cannons and 32-pound carronades, she was a fighting ship. Constructed of 1,500 oak trees from Maine, the hull was sheathed in copper. All copper fittings were created by Paul Revere. She never lost a battle and was called "Old Ironsides" by her crew.

MAJOR GENERAL ANDREW JACKSON “OLD HICKORY”



A firebrand, Jackson (1767-1845) prospered in business and politics regardless of his short fuse and willingness to defend his “honor” against all comers. A man who had slandered his wife was killed by Jackson in a duel. He was the first resident of Tennessee to be elected to the House of Representatives and rose briefly to a seat in the Senate. Expecting the British to land troops near New Orleans, he used his personality, reputation, and old friendships to pull together a motley army that won the day. He was President from 1829 to 1837.

RIGHT: *The Star Spangled Banner that flew over Fort McHenry is undergoing restoration at the Smithsonian Institution. The 32’ x 42’ flag sewn by Mary Pickersgill and her seamstresses was whittled away by souvenir hunters following the battle.*



LEFT: *Master Commandant Oliver Hazard Perry transfers his colors from the sinking Lawrence to the Niagara during his victory over the British fleet in Lake Erie. He said, “We have met the enemy and he is ours.”*

“Now, boys! Pour it in to them!” screamed Hull as the Guerrière tried desperately to shear off. The 24-pounders fired as they bore, tearing up rigging, splintering wood, shattering taff rails, and blasting ratlines and hammock nettings to shreds. The 18-pound shot of the Guerrière bounced off the Constitution’s white oak strakes buttressed by live oak frames. With a tortured crack, the Guerrière’s mizzen mast splintered, hung in the jumble of its ruined rigging, and then sagged over the side. Hull made his turn across the Guerrière’s bow, firing as he did so, and closed to 50 feet. The Constitution’s short carronades hammered their 32-pound balls into the tangle of up-ended guns, sprawled bodies, and fallen yard-arms.

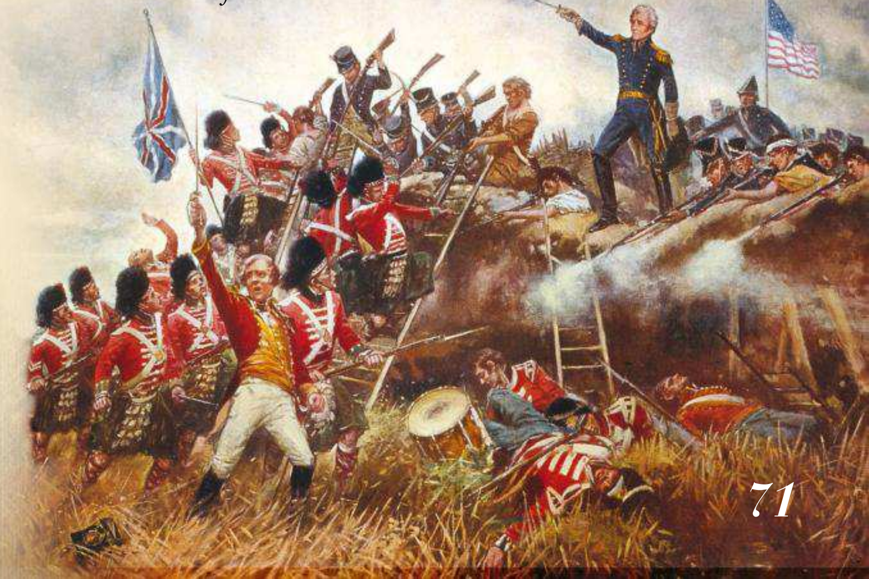
Two hours after the contest began, Guerrière was holed to the waterline and dismasted. Dacres hauled down his colors and at 3.15 p.m. on August 20, 1812, the British frigate Guerrière “… sank out of sight.”

On land, the American army was being badly led into disaster after disaster, while at sea a new generation of brash young captains with their 38- and 50-gun frigates were winning battle after battle. British frigates Frolic, Macedonian, and Java all fell to American guns. On the Great Lakes, Oliver Hazard Perry built a fleet of gunboats and frigates. On September 10, 1813, after breaking a blockade by hand-hauling his ships across a sandbar, Perry sailed his Lake Erie fleet straight at the British. After a furious battle that saw Perry move his flag from a sinking wreck to another ship, the apparently victorious British fleet was stunned when he attacked yet again. Holed, raked, and sinking, the British ships surrendered.

The final act of the War of 1812 was played out on January 8, 1815, across a swampy Louisiana field. General Andrew Jackson looked down his lines behind redoubts made of cotton bales. His troops were creoles, Tennessee sharpshooters, free Blacks, local militia, Cajuns, and pirates. The British had been told these “dirty shirts” were cowards. With a roll of drums, the troops advanced on Jackson’s position. An American cannon filled with scrap-iron ripped out and killed 200 at a stroke. Jackson’s riflemen, four rows deep, fired and fired and fired. Line after line of brave men fell. The drums pounded, rifles crashed, men died. The few surviving British soldiers were allowed to trudge back to their ships.

No one on that field knew that on Christmas Eve, 1814, American and British delegations had met in Ghent, Belgium, and signed a treaty ending the war. Neither country won. Both countries lost part of a generation of brave young men. Great Britain and the United States would never go to war again.

BELOW: *A panoramic view of the Battle of New Orleans, as British troops hurl their lines against the trenches and cotton bales shielding General Andrew Jackson’s forces. It was the last battle of the war.*



INTRODUCTION

The United States Constitution is America's instruction book. A faded, barely legible set of parchment pages, the original signed document was handwritten in iron gall ink with a feathered quill pen. Cast in 18th Century language and preserved in archival security, it is now available for public view and contemplation. The Constitution's present-day fragile appearance, however, masks the muscle and power of its carefully chosen words; forged at a time when life, death, and government rested in the ruling doctrine of divine right of kings.

Released from these frail pages, these revolutionary words have thundered through America's halls of justice and within its legislative bodies with a seemingly unstoppable, corporeal authority. Historians might all agree that the U.S. Constitution has been responsible for creating the most successful democratic republic ever envisioned. American citizens have lived by its commandments, stretched its implications, ignored its wisdom, tested its premises, assaulted its foundation, and interpreted the intentions of its framers to fit our changing decades of social, moral, and economic existence. Each new generation discovers the immutable strength and latent challenges behind those opening words, “We, the people…”

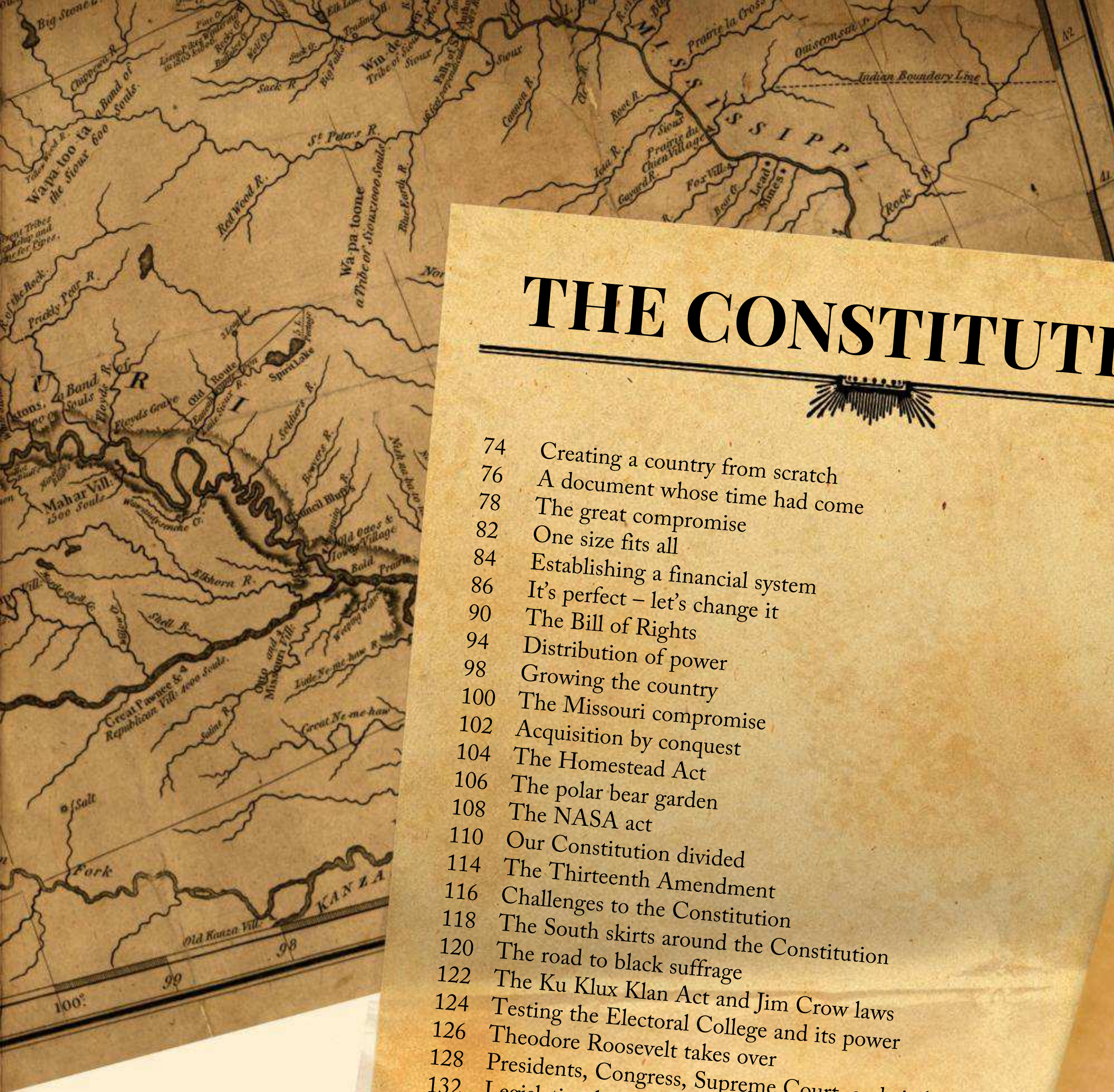
The foundation of this government was laid well before the first words were inked on parchment. British colonials who populated the Eastern Seaboard of North America had fought for their king and mother country against the French in the Seven Years' War, concluding their service with victory in 1763. On returning to their villages, farms, homesteads, and plantations, they settled in once again governed by British rule of law. The British, however, faced debts run up by the long war and needed additional revenue. New taxes were levied on the colonies without extending representation to them in the Houses of Parliament. The Crown felt entitled to these taxes as payment for government, security, banking, and trade. The colonial congresses petitioned for relief, but when one tax was withdrawn, another appeared. Garrison troops were harassed, commerce was disrupted. In 1776, fueled by the lure of independence, the colonies met in common congress and drafted a declaration that set in motion a revolution and announced the reasons for such a treasonous act to the world.

We begin this section of the journey when memories of treason's noose were still fresh and the country was young and still encumbered with Old World customs. The act of separation produced a government of and for the people to achieve and preserve new freedoms. Even as the struggle to secure those freshly-claimed liberties raged across fields and towns, the Continental Congress was kept on the move in order to stay ahead of the British Army while working to hammer out a government for its new citizens. Ratified in 1781, before the deciding battle at Yorktown, the Articles of Confederation that emerged demonstrated intense national spirit.

The founders spent the summer of 1787 creating a new constitution, a “revised edition” of the original, not as an ivory-tower theory but in spare prose demanding ratification by all thirteen of the United States. In the coming years, as the population expanded and then exploded across the continent, each generation tested this bold experiment in statehood in ways never envisioned by its framers. The demands of politics, commerce, industry, society, and geography have challenged the translations of this 18th Century wisdom enacted through two hundred years of revisions: articles, sections, acts, bills, and amendments.

We look at many of those demands over the decades of change from colonial times to the 21st Century and see, through a series of eleven thematic chapters, how challenges were met by a variety of generations. The aim is to understand that what's required of today's world can resonate with similar needs made apparent and solutions put forth in response a hundred years ago.

Only twenty-seven changes have been admitted to the original document from roughly two thousand proposed amendments to the Constitution since its creation. We'll see how the mechanics of change, insightfully built into the Constitution, have been employed as the U.S. has experienced collisions of events and philosophies over decades and centuries. The speed of communication, revelations in the spheres of social and physical science, and participation in a growing global community have demanded answers to never-imagined questions.



THE CONSTITUTION

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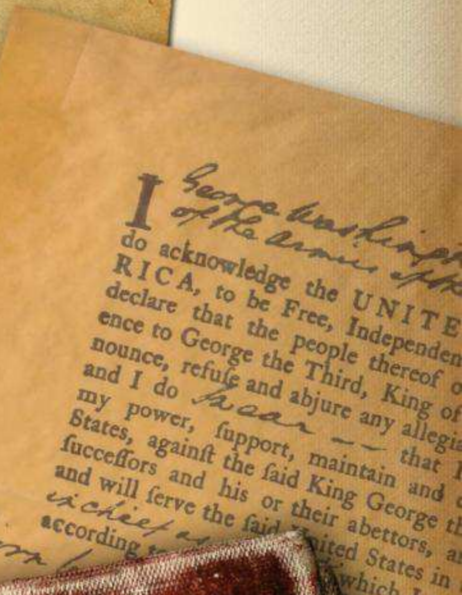

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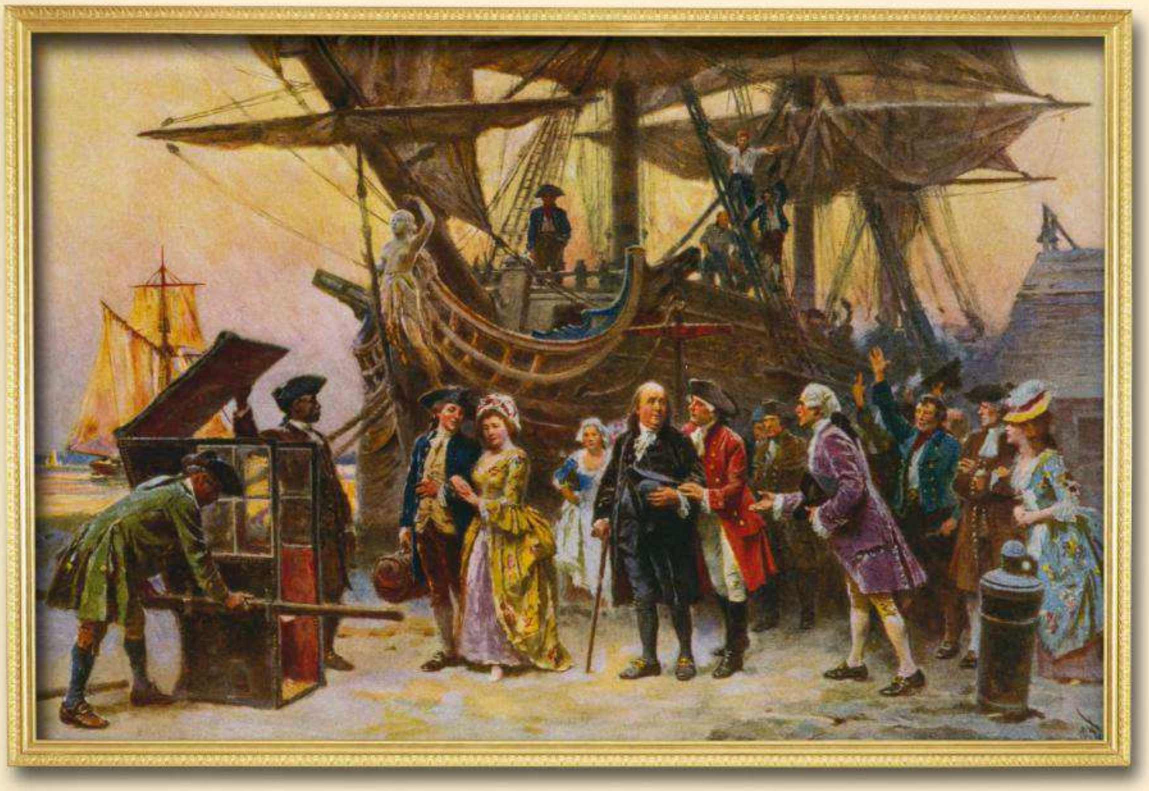
CREATING A COUNTRY FROM SCRATCH



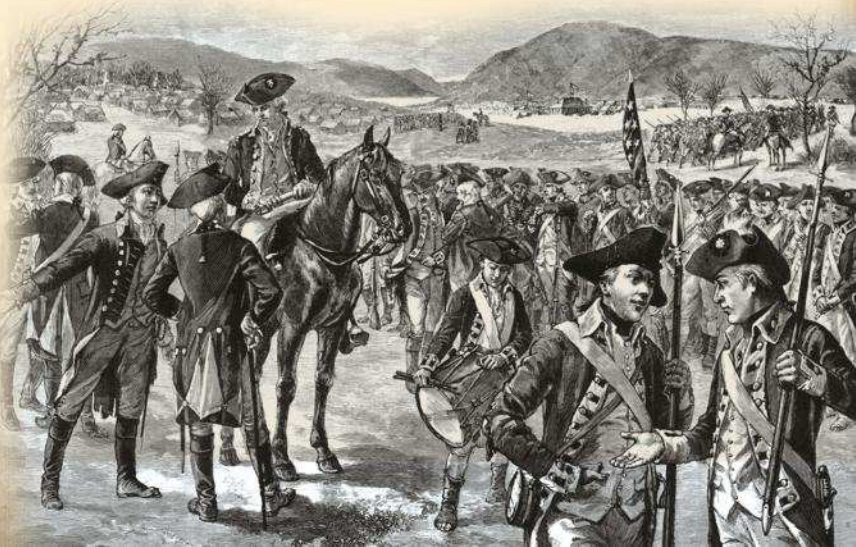
LEFT: *Benjamin Franklin is greeted in Philadelphia on September 14, 1785, by his daughter Sarah Bache, her family, and friends on his return from France after a stay of more than eight years.*

The United States of America began as a huge experiment. The European world took a long look at the motley collection of states, each scrambling for itself in a confederation held together by a set of articles so limited in its power structure that each state virtually became a nation unto itself. The Comte de Vergennes, France's foreign minister, and the United States' champion at Louis XVI's court, surveyed the tragic tangle that was America's post-war government and commented: "the American Confederation has a great tendency toward dissolution."

Each state legislature began testing the waters and either followed the passionate lead of those such as New York's Alexander Hamilton who preached for strong central government, or held states' individual rights to be sacred and sought to minimize the central grip on power. Using Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* and Jefferson's Declaration of Independence as models wherein troubles flowed from a tyrannical monarch and a corrupt central government, the Articles of Confederation stripped away most executive and central authority. Great Britain was convinced that the United States was impotent and falling apart. It sent no minister to New York where the Congress met, and John Adams, minister to Great Britain, received a cool, almost dismissive reception. Foreign ministers were required to present their portfolios to the governors of all 13 states. Trade tariffs between states hampered interstate commerce. Talking to the states about raising funds in order to pay debts and fix roads or ports was, Robert Morris said, "like preaching to the dead." During a financial depression in Massachusetts, a taxpayers' revolt was suppressed by the state militia.

With virtually all the Founding Fathers out of the country, or back in their home states, only one veteran legislator and diplomat, John Jay, argued for abandoning sectional self-interest for a strong central

BELOW: *By 1783, the United States Army was disbanding, as armies in the field turned in their muskets, drums, and accoutrements. Units paraded for the last time, said their farewells and headed home. Congress had no money and farms needed planting.*

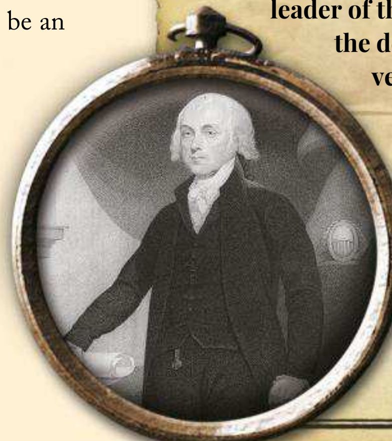


government. James Madison seized on a Virginia convention organized to regulate commerce with Maryland to suggest a more encompassing purpose involving all 13 states. Ultimately, with the blessing of Congress, 55 representatives from 12 states – Rhode Island boycotted – made their way to Philadelphia. On May 25, 1787, the Convention was gaveled to order, and after four months of debate and compromise, the delegates decided to replace the Articles of Confederation with a more centralized United States Constitution. On September 17, they adjourned and headed for the City Tavern. Selling it to the folks back home would be an even harder job.

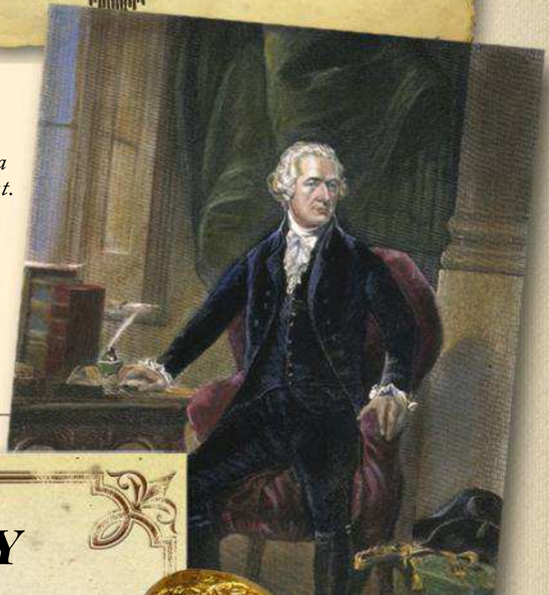
One by one, in sessions filled with passion, oratory, slander, invective, the states finally ratified the document. When the deed was done, friends of the Constitution organized celebrations in major towns and state capitals. Following the jubilation in Philadelphia, patriot physician Benjamin Rush wrote John Adams that, at last, the Constitution "…made us a nation."

In September 1789, at the first meeting of the new Congress, James Madison presented 10 amendments called The Bill of Rights (passed on September 25, 1789), which chiefly guaranteed individual rights, as well as freedom of speech and religion. Of the three branches of government – legislative, judicial, and executive – the executive had been the object of the most suspicion. However, an august presence had been among them throughout the process. Now, all heads turned toward the man who had kept the army together and hope alive during the Revolution. Following a popular election, George Washington was unanimously elected by the Electoral College as the first President of the United States. He arrived in New York for his inauguration on April 30, 1789. With John Adams as Vice President and a congress made up of some of the most brilliant minds of the era, the American government became as much explorers as those pioneers who were crossing the Appalachian Mountains to see what was on the other side.

JAMES MADISON



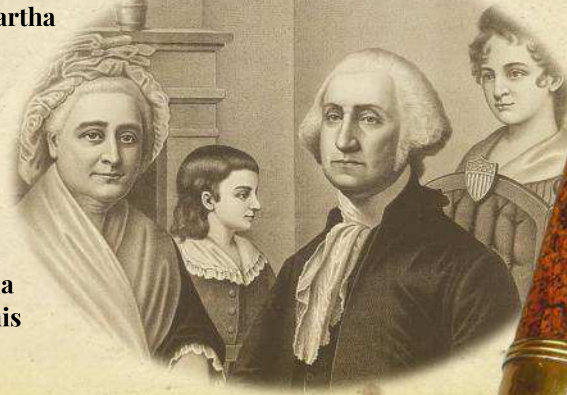
James Madison (1751-1836) was a well-read lawyer and leader of the Virginia Assembly. He was key to the debate on a strong central government versus a loose confederation of states. Madison, along with Alexander Hamilton and John Jay, anonymously published *The Federalist Papers*, which moved many states' representatives to agree to the adoption of a strong United States Constitution. Madison became the fourth president in 1809.



RIGHT: *Alexander Hamilton, together with James Madison, favored a strong central government. He was a financial genius of his time, had a mercurial temper. Hamilton and Madison wrote what came to be "The Federalist Papers" to explain their position.*

WASHINGTON THE HOMEBODY

Although he had no children of his own, George Washington was a devoted husband and father to his stepchildren. Before marrying Martha Custis, George had enlarged Mount Vernon into a two-and-a-half story home. She and her two children, Jacky and Patsy, arrived in April 1759. Patsy died there in 1773 and the Washingtons raised two of their grandchildren, Eleanor and George, at Mount Vernon. After his presidency, George and Martha lived in the homestead from 1797 until his death in 1799.



LEFT: *George Washington's gold-headed walking cane. He carried this stick through his civilian life and presidency. Tall, elegant, and serene, he was an ideal choice as President of the Constitutional Convention.*

A DOCUMENT WHOSE TIME HAD COME

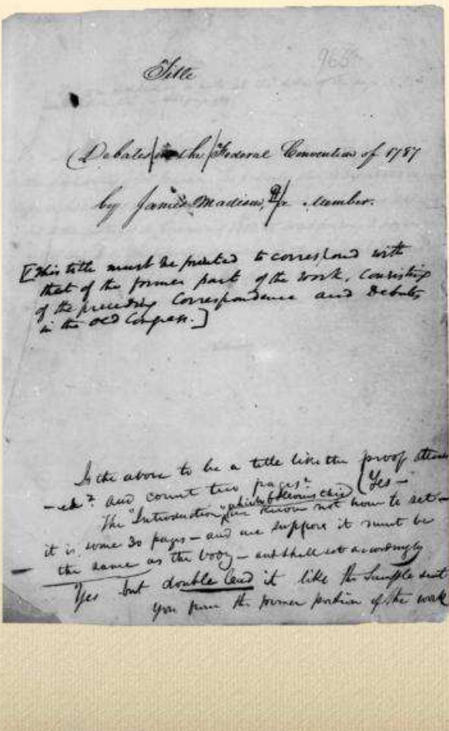
Delegates to the Constitutional Convention meeting in May 1787 had a formidable task ahead of them. Shy and soft-spoken James Madison, a Virginia legislator and delegate to the Continental Congress in 1780, became the major force in fashioning the new charter. So concerned that their efforts would not fail, he arrived two weeks before the other delegates and drafted his Virginia Plan, which became the basic outline for the final Constitution.

In addition to Madison, the delegates included other influential colonial "celebrities."

George Washington, elected president of the convention, had distinguished himself in the French and Indian War (Seven Years' War) and had led the United States to victory in the Revolutionary War. Revered by his fellow delegates, he became the obvious choice to preside over the convention as they drafted the Constitution during that hot summer in 1787. He had a calm demeanor as he observed the proceedings, yet in his quietude, the members sensed his strength. In most debates, Washington made it clear he favored a strong central government.

Benjamin Franklin, inventor, author, politician, and philosopher, had aged considerably by the time of the Constitutional Convention. As ambassador to France he had negotiated a military alliance with the French during the critical days of the American Revolution. Despite his advanced years, his zeal for building a nation dedicated to preserving freedom for all its citizens still burned in his heart. He served as an honorary delegate to the convention and was an outspoken advocate for the common people.

Alexander Hamilton, born in the British West Indies of illegitimate parentage, was educated in the United States and served as aide-de-camp to George Washington during the revolution. Later, he sought to revoke the Articles of Confederation in favor of a document outlining a strong central government with taxing



Title

Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787

by James Madison, a member.

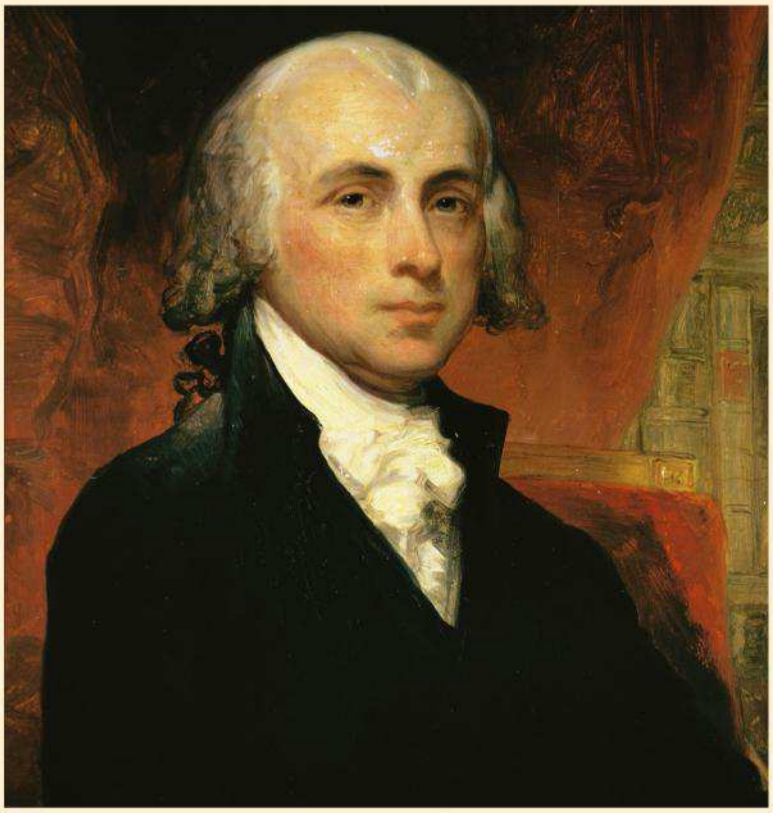
[This title must be printed to correspond with that of the former part of the work, consisting of the preceding Correspondence and Debates in the old Congress.]

Is the above to be a title like the proof attach-ed? and count two pages? [Yes—

The "Introduction" which follows this — know not how to set — it is some 30 pages — and we suppose it must be the same as the body — and shall set accordingly

Yes but double lead it like the sample sent you from the former portion of the work

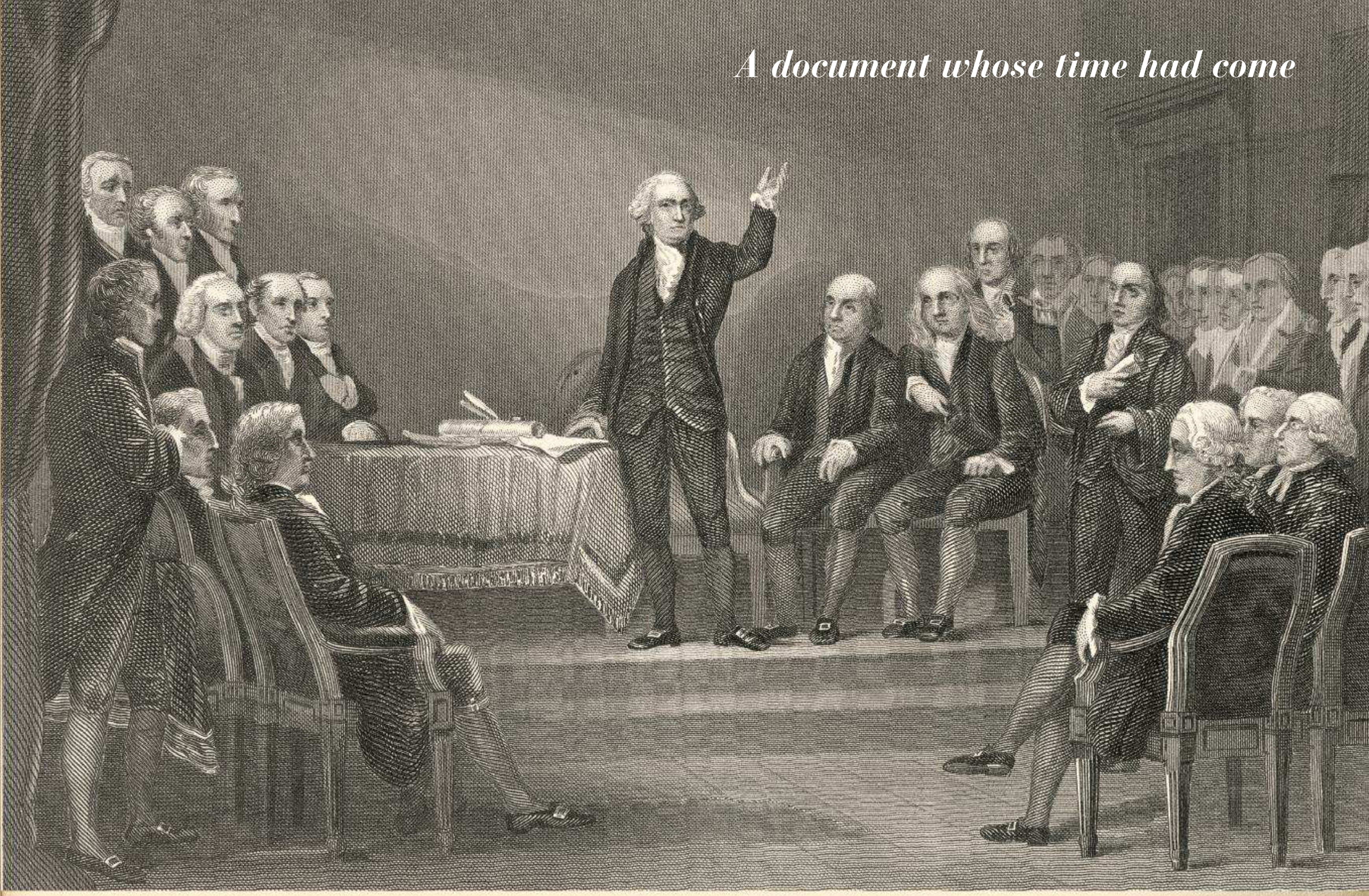
RIGHT: *John C. Payne's copy of James Madison's "Original Notes on Debates in the Federal Convention" of 1787. Madison's notes were considered the most complete existing record of the convention's proceedings.*



ABOVE: *James Madison, fourth president of the United States, also known as the "Father of the Constitution."*

CLOAKED IN SECRECY

The delegates to the Constitutional Convention actually met in secret, fearing that if the word spread that they were redoing the laws of the land, citizens might protest to prevent the subversive establishment of another monarchy. At the time they didn't even use the word "convention." When delegates corresponded with friends, they chose their words carefully. People believed that they were simply making changes to the Articles of Confederation. Most Americans felt that the Articles of Confederation sufficed as a governing document, but few realized that the articles failed to establish a system of collecting taxes, defending the country, and paying debts.



ABOVE: *American general George Washington presides over the Constitutional Convention, which took place from May 25 through September 17, 1787.*

bodies and a court system. His persuasive rhetoric at the Annapolis convention – a gathering of politicians who were concerned about navigation on the Potomac River – significantly helped generate further support for Congress to call for a constitutional convention.

Gouverneur Morris from Philadelphia was one of the convention's more boisterous delegates, in spite of struggling with physical problems – a peg leg and shriveled arm – and wrote several sections of the Constitution, including the Preamble.

From May through September 1787, the delegates debated, fought, shouted, and pondered. The Articles of Confederation had proved weak and clumsy, giving more power to the states (who often fought among themselves) and little to the national government. The country had no way to regulate commerce, no taxing power, no way to enforce congressional acts, etc. The United States needed a stronger central government. It was difficult to agree on some issues, although with few exceptions, they all knew they must establish a strong federal system with limited powers – yet one that could work with independent state governments – and the group had loosely divided itself between Federalists and those who favored states' rights to protect against a possible despotic central government.

But it was Madison who contributed the most to the Constitution and later argued for the Bill of Rights (the Constitution's first ten amendments) to be added. The Virginia state constitution, written by George Mason in early 1776, became the guide for the final U.S. Bill of Rights. Of the seventy-four delegates named to the convention, fifty-five attended. Rhode Island sent no delegates.

NOTICEABLE BY THEIR ABSENCE

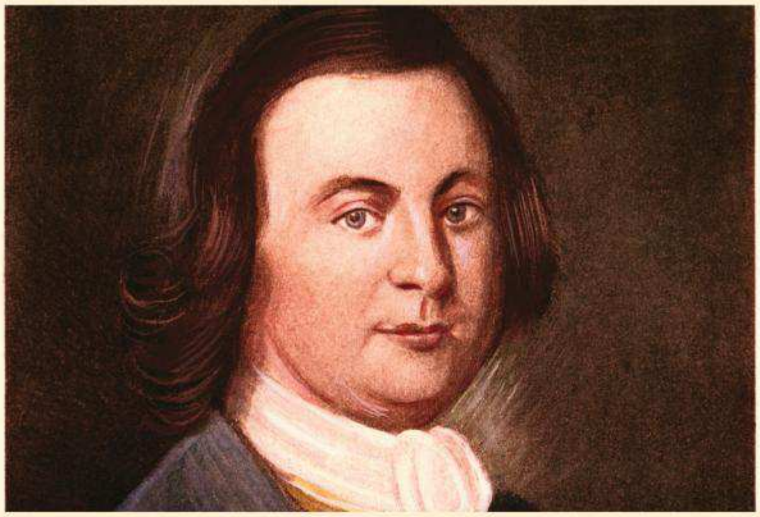
At the time of the Constitutional Convention, Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, was situated in Paris, negotiating commerce treaties and loans to convince the European countries that the United States was solvent and trustworthy. Nevertheless, he managed to supply Madison with a wealth of material on political theory to help guide him in his efforts. John Adams, a Federalist and highly respected Founding Father who had helped draft the Declaration of Independence, was serving as diplomat to Britain at the time of the convention. Although his fellow Americans missed him, they were bolstered by his letters of encouragement, and his book *A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America* was circulated throughout the members. It was both praised and censured by the delegates, depending on their view of Federalism.

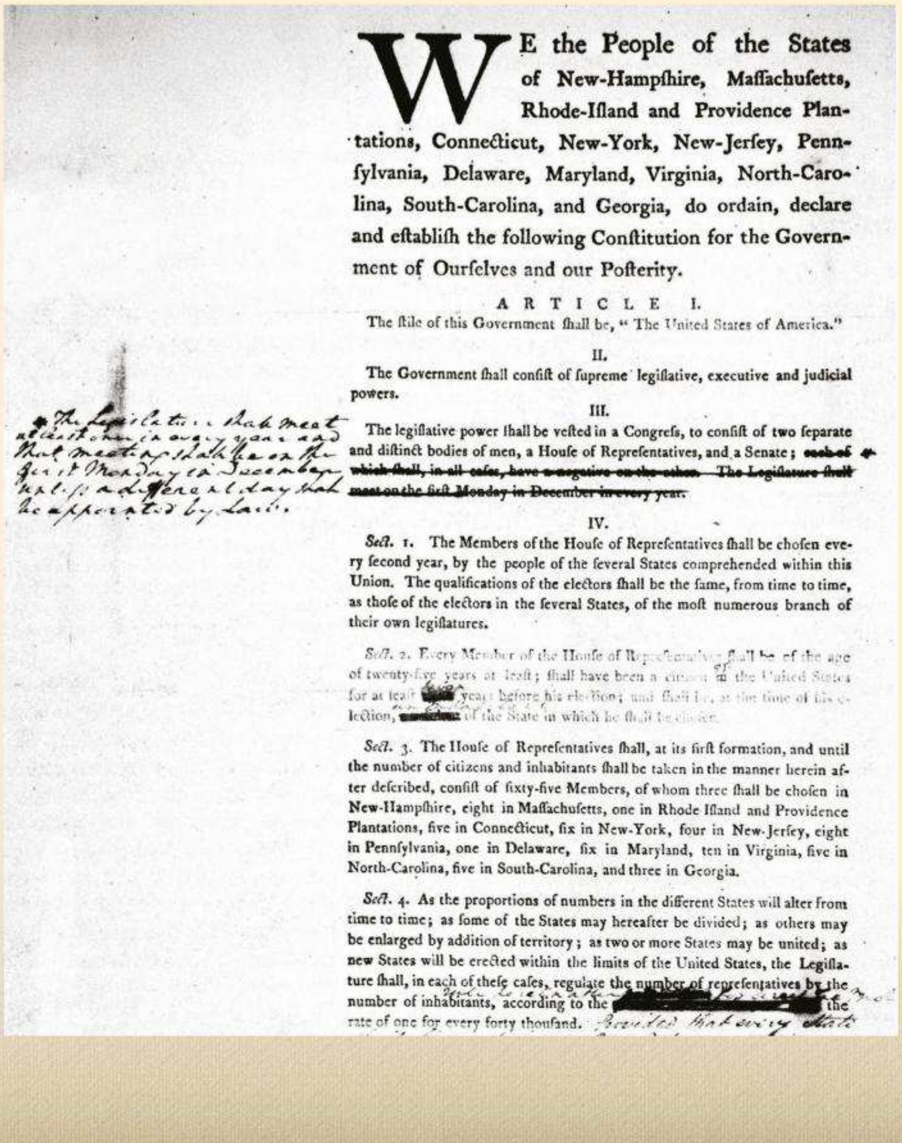
THE GREAT COMPROMISE

Two issues dominated the convention: What powers should be given to the national government, and who should control this government? They could all agree on the first question: Congress should levy taxes, control commerce, issue money, make treaties, maintain an army, and suppress insurrection. The second caused several weeks of heated discussion. Larger states favored the Virginia Plan: representation determined by population. Smaller states wanted the New Jersey Plan, which allowed for equal representation. Day after day the arguments raged on, and one delegate feared that if there were no concessions, "Our business must soon be at an end." After the larger states threatened to walk out, cooler heads prevailed and the delegates adopted the Great Compromise. The new legislature would have the number of legislators in the lower house – the House of Representatives – based on population and elected by popular vote. The members in the Senate – the upper house – would have two members, chosen by the legislators. (This was changed in 1913 with the Seventeenth Amendment. It stated that two senators would be elected from each state to serve for a period of six years.)

Then there was the problem of slaves. At that time, about one in seven Americans was a slave. The northern states felt that each slave should be counted as one in order to determine the amount of taxes a state should pay. Naturally, where taxes were concerned, the southern states wanted to delete slaves from the count, but thought slaves could be included when it came to determining representation. The Three-Fifths Compromise settled the question; slaves were considered only three-fifths of a person, for the purposes of both taxes and representation.

The method for choosing a president proved to be far more cumbersome. No one had any experience in electing a leader and giving him the power to command the armed forces, deal in international relations, appoint judges, or veto laws passed by Congress. Each state would choose electors, equal to the number of representatives it had in Congress. These electors would vote for two persons for president. The person receiving the most votes would become president; the one with the next highest number of votes would be vice president. In 1804, the Twelfth Amendment determined that





WE the People of the States of New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts, Rhode-Iſland and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, do ordain, declare and eſtabliſh the following Conſtitution for the Government of Ourſelves and our Poſterity.

ARTICLE I.

The ſtile of this Government ſhall be, "The United States of America."

II.

The Government ſhall conſiſt of ſupreme legiſlative, executive and judicial powers.

III.

The legiſlative power ſhall be veſted in a Congreſs, to conſiſt of two ſeparate and diſtinct bodies of men, a Houſe of Repreſentatives, and a Senate; ~~each of which ſhall, in all caſes, have a negative on the other. The Legiſlature ſhall meet on the firſt Monday in December in every year.~~

* The Legislature shall meet at least once in every year and that meeting shall be on the first Monday in December unless a different day shall be appointed by Law.

IV.

Sect. 1. The Members of the Houſe of Repreſentatives ſhall be choſen every ſecond year, by the people of the ſeveral States comprehended within this Union. The qualifications of the electors ſhall be the ſame, from time to time, as thoſe of the electors in the ſeveral States, of the moſt numerous branch of their own legiſlatures.

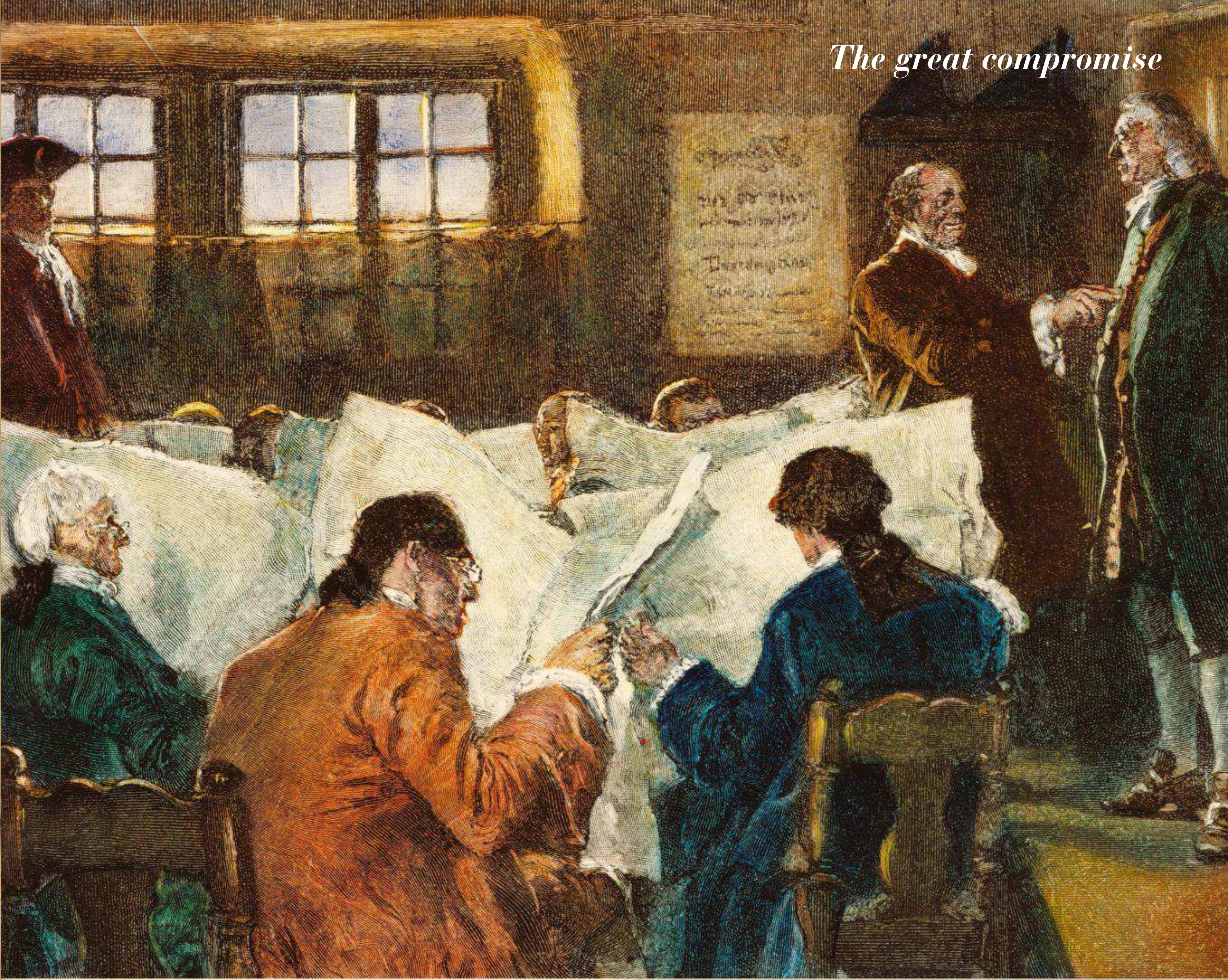
Sect. 2. Every Member of the Houſe of Repreſentatives ſhall be of the age of twenty-five years at leaſt; ſhall have been a citizen in the United States for at leaſt [redacted] years before his election; and ſhall be, at the time of his election, [redacted] of the State in which he ſhall be choſen.

Sect. 3. The Houſe of Repreſentatives ſhall, at its firſt formation, and until the number of citizens and inhabitants ſhall be taken in the manner herein after deſcribed, conſiſt of ſixty-five Members, of whom three ſhall be choſen in New-Hampſhire, eight in Maſſachuſetts, one in Rhode Iſland and Providence Plantations, five in Connecticut, ſix in New-York, four in New-Jerſey, eight in Pennſylvania, one in Delaware, ſix in Maryland, ten in Virginia, five in North-Carolina, five in South-Carolina, and three in Georgia.

Sect. 4. As the proportions of numbers in the different States will alter from time to time; as ſome of the States may hereafter be divided; as others may be enlarged by addition of territory; as two or more States may be united; as new States will be erected within the limits of the United States, the Legiſlature ſhall, in each of theſe caſes, regulate the number of repreſentatives by the number of inhabitants, according to the [redacted] the rate of one for every forty thouſand. Provided that every State

ABOVE: *Image of George Mason, author of the Virginia Declaration of Rights, which provided the basis for the Bill of Rights.*

RIGHT: *George Washington's copy of the first printed draft of the United States Constitution, August 6, 1787, with corrections in Washington's hand.*



ABOVE: *Hand-colored engraving, In the Reading Room of an 18th Century New York Coffee House. The Constitution was perused in taverns, coffeehouses, homes, and other places where people gathered.*

electors should vote separately for president and vice president. Not long after, the country evolved into a two-party system and now the presidential and vice presidential candidates campaign for office together. The electoral college still determines the election outcome, and if there is a dispute the House of Representatives determines the outcome. The Supreme Court was established to adjudicate laws and treaties of the United States, something that did not appear in the Articles of Confederation. Congress didn't say that the court could declare a state or federal law void, but over the years, the court has used its judicial review rights in determining certain cases.

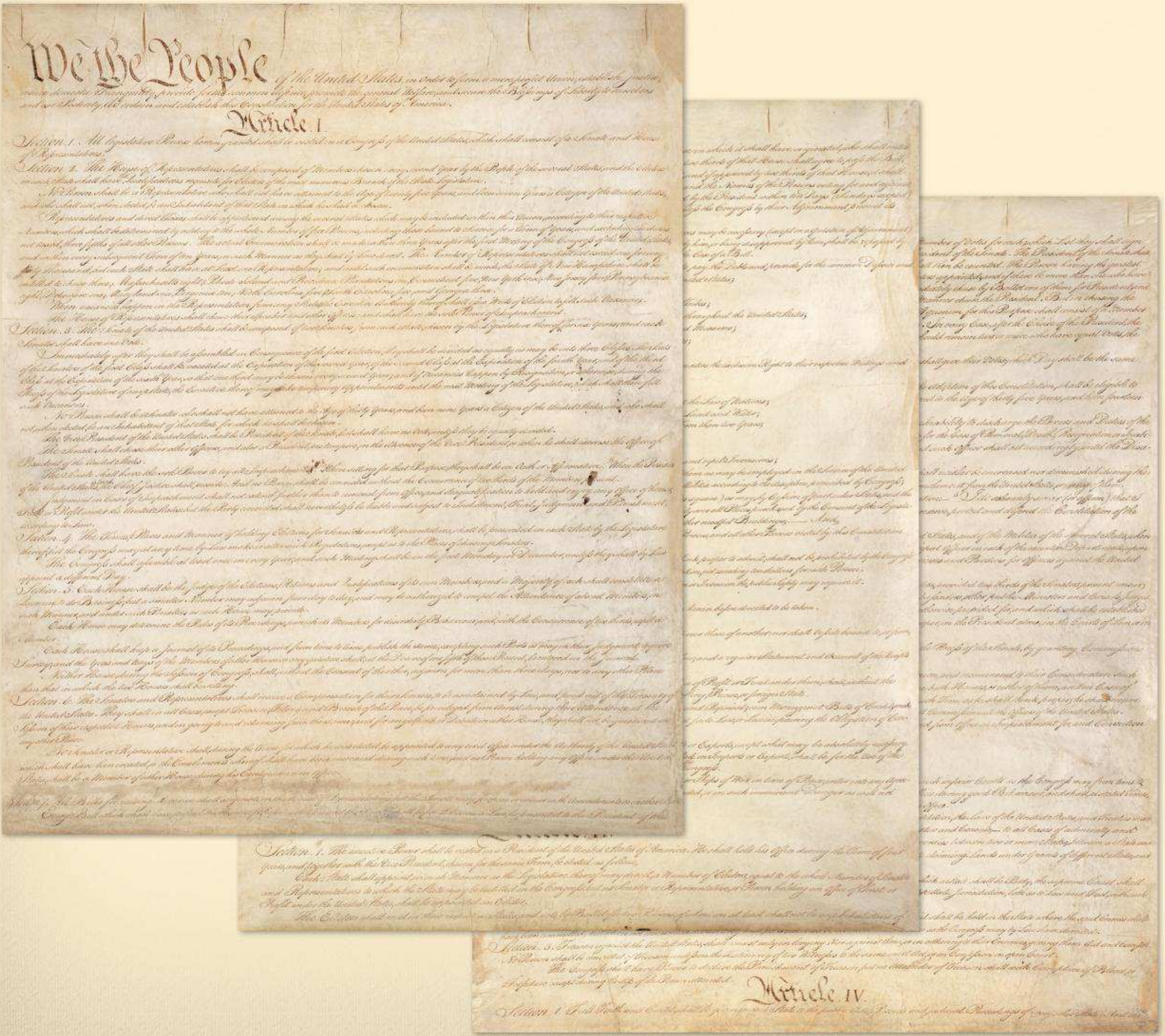
This system of checks and balances has served the country well, even during the most difficult periods when the nation's government might have dissolved. The document that would determine whether America's new political system would survive a few decades or far into the 21st Century was completed on September 17, 1787. But their job wasn't over. Now they just had to sell the idea to the rest of the country.

THE SLAVERY ISSUE

It would seem that a country that had so recently secured its freedom would draft a document granting release for its own slaves. At the time, slaves were considered a commodity and Congress had the right to establish import taxes on them. It was agreed that these taxes would be limited to ten dollars a head and in return the southern states agreed to stop the import of slaves by 1808. In the end, economy was the driving force in the slavery issue, and since it was considered a commodity, Congress controlled the slave trade. Still, many delegates voiced vehemently against the slavery system, including the blustery Gouverneur Morris, shouting while balancing himself with his cane, "Wretched Africans! The vassalage of the poor has ever been the favorite offspring of aristocracy!"

THE U.S. CONSTITUTION

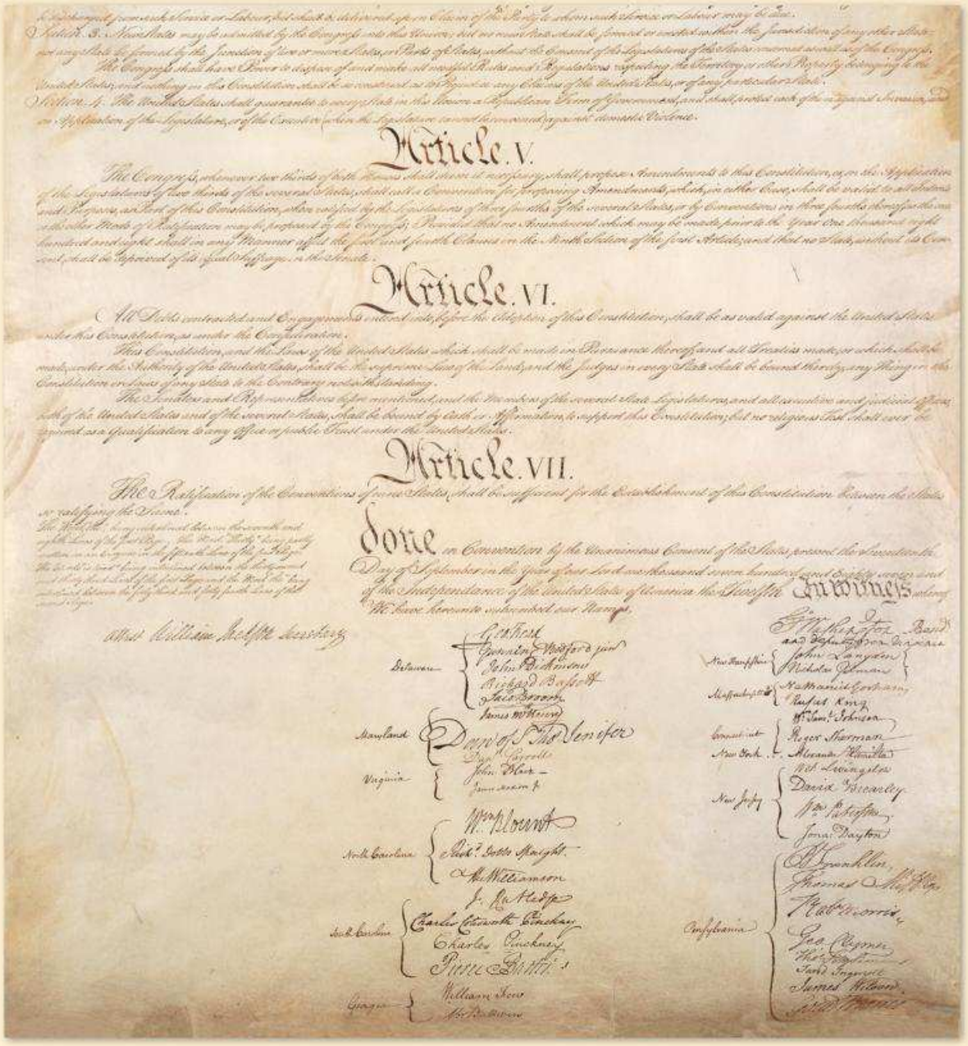
BELOW & OPPOSITE: After 10 years of the ineffectual Articles of Confederation, a new constitution was created in 1787. Supporters of states' rights fought Federalists over the powers of a central government. The Constitution of the United States was the outcome.



We the People

Article I

Article IV



SIGNED ALSO BY THE DEPUTIES OF TWELVE STATES

MARYLAND
JAMES MCHENRY
DAN OF ST THOS JENIFER
DANL CARROLL

VIRGINIA
JOHN BLAIR
JAMES MADISON JR.

NEW YORK
ALEXANDER HAMILTON

CONNECTICUT
WM. SAML. JOHNSON
ROGER SHERMAN

GEORGIA
WILLIAM FEW
ABR BALDWIN

DELAWARE
GEO: READ
GUNNING BEDFORD JUN JOHN
DICKINSON RICHARD BASSETT
JACO: BROOM

MASSACHUSETTS
NATHANIEL GORHAM
RUFUS KING

SOUTH CAROLINA
J. RUTLEDGE
CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY
CHARLES PINCKNEY
PIERCE BUTLER

NEWHAMPSHIRE
JOHN LANGDON
NICHOLAS GILMAN

NORTH CAROLINA
WM BLOUNT
RICHD. DOBBS SPAIGHT
HU WILLIAMSON

NEW JERSEY
WIL: LIVINGSTON
DAVID BREARLEY
WM. PATERSON
JONA: DAYTON

PENNSYLVANIA
B FRANKLIN
THOMAS MIFFLIN
ROBT MORRIS
GEO. CLYMER
THOS. FITZSIMONS
JARED INGERSOLL
JAMES WILSON
GOUV MORRIS

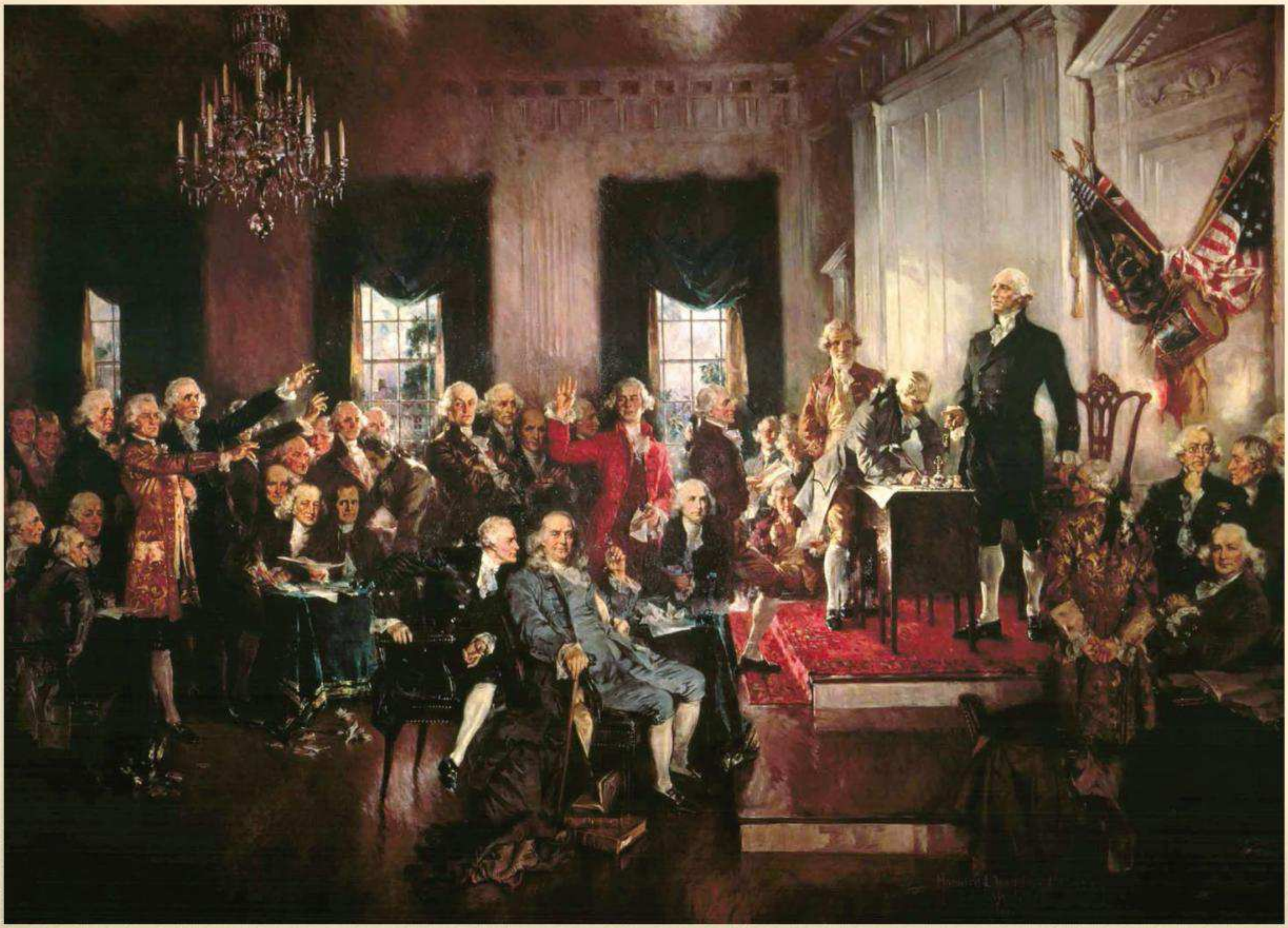
ONE SIZE FITS ALL

John Jay said it best: "Let Congress Legislate, let others execute, let others Judge." Following the Constitution's dictates in Article VII ("the Ratification of the Convention of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution…"), the document's framers now needed ratification by state conventions. Copies were loaded into saddlebags and taken by coach down winding dirt roads for delivery to delegates in each state, who voted to accept or reject it. Those who opposed it were known as Anti-Federalists and these generally consisted of farmers, debtors, and laborers; in other words, people who valued their new liberties and feared the country might evolve into a monarchy. The Federalists, usually men of wealth and position, desired a stable, central, and efficient body of lawmakers.

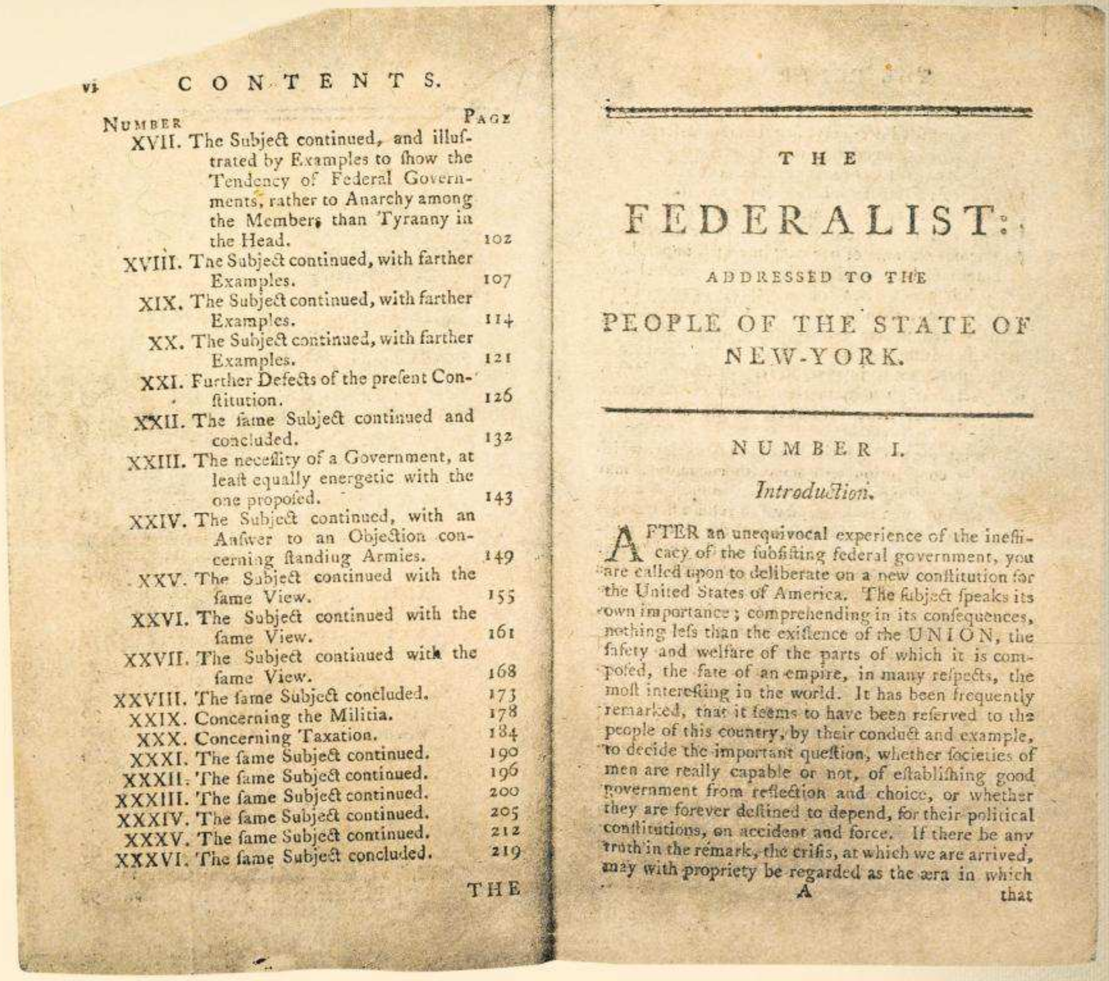
The promise of adding amendments that clearly gave certain powers to the states – such as the power to enact laws not in conflict with the Constitution – helped sell the Constitution in most states. Over the next few months, the conventions held in Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut quickly voted to ratify this new document. Others soon followed, and by June 1788, nine states had voted in favor, making the Constitution legal.

New York, however, had yet to accept the Constitution as it stood. The majority of laborers and merchants in New York City favored the Constitution, but the rural population in outlying areas wasn't so certain it would work. Although Alexander Hamilton hadn't been a proponent of the new document, he, along with John Jay and James Madison (all using the common name "Publius"), created *The Federalist Papers*, essays explaining the need for a strong central

BELOW: *The Scene at the Signing of the Constitution with Washington presiding. Official journals and papers of the convention were given to Washington for safekeeping until the Constitution was officially ratified.*



RIGHT: *Table of contents and first page of the first edition of "The Federalist Papers", a series of essays in favor of a federal constitution. The papers were published in newspapers, then into books.*



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THE

THE

FEDERALIST:

ADDRESSED TO THE

PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF

NEW-YORK.

NUMBER I.

Introduction.

AFTER an unequivocal experience of the inefficacy of the ſubſiſting federal government, you are called upon to deliberate on a new conſtitution for the United States of America. The ſubject ſpeaks its own importance; comprehending in its conſequences, nothing leſs than the exiſtence of the UNION, the ſafety and welfare of the parts of which it is compoſed, the fate of an empire, in many reſpects, the moſt intereſting in the world. It has been frequently remarked, that it ſeems to have been reſerved to the people of this country, by their conduct and example, to decide the important queſtion, whether ſocieties of men are really capable or not, of eſtabliſhing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever deſtined to depend, for their political conſtitutions, on accident and force. If there be any truth in the remark, the criſis, at which we are arrived, may with propriety be regarded as the æra in which

A that

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government while pointing out that the system of checks and balances could work. Hamilton launched a nearly one-man campaign across the state, plying some opponents with free meals or threats to have New York City secede if they didn't go along with the rest of the country. It worked. In July 1788, New York ratified the Constitution.

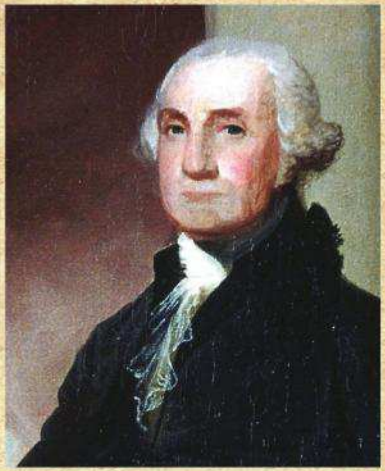
The promise of a second convention to draft amendments clearly defining civil liberties also helped Virginia, Rhode Island, and North Carolina sign on. By May 1790 all thirteen states had ratified the Constitution.

By April 1789, once the old Congress had slipped away, the new one gathered in New York and managed to hammer out the first of many issues, namely, how to address the country's leader. John Adams thought "His Elective Highness" or "His Excellency" had a nice ring to it. After three weeks, Washington himself settled the issue. He didn't want to appear as a "king" or "monarch," which might imply despotism. Instead, he preferred "president." The Electoral College met and unanimously chose George Washington as president of the new nation, with John Adams as vice president. On April 14, 1789, Washington, with some trepidation about the momentous task before him, left Mount Vernon for the trip to New York, the nation's temporary capital. He was inaugurated on April 30. Knowing that most of his actions could set a precedent for future leaders, he said, "The eyes of Argus are upon me and no slip will pass unnoticed." He began by choosing a group of advisors, known as his cabinet, an action that presidents have followed to the present day. He appointed Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State, Alexander Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury, and General Henry Knox as Secretary of War.

After settling in, the new congressional leaders set to work drafting the promised series of amendments, later known as the Bill of Rights, spelling out in greater detail the purpose of the Constitution, guaranteeing U.S. citizens certain personal and property rights. They also lost no time in appointing a postmaster general and passing a Judiciary Act that established thirteen federal district courts. In one of his first duties as president, George Washington appointed John Jay as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

HE KNEW HIS ROLE

As president, George Washington took the limits of his power seriously. He left Congress to its own devices and never expressed criticism or praise for a member of the legislature. A veto, he believed, should be employed only if a law in some way violated the Constitution, and he never discussed any proceedings going on in Congress. This did not prevent him from an occasional display of temper. At a cabinet meeting where he was subject to some criticism, he shouted that he would rather "be on his farm than to be made emperor of the world."



ABOVE: *George Washington, leader of the Continental Army and the nation's first president.*

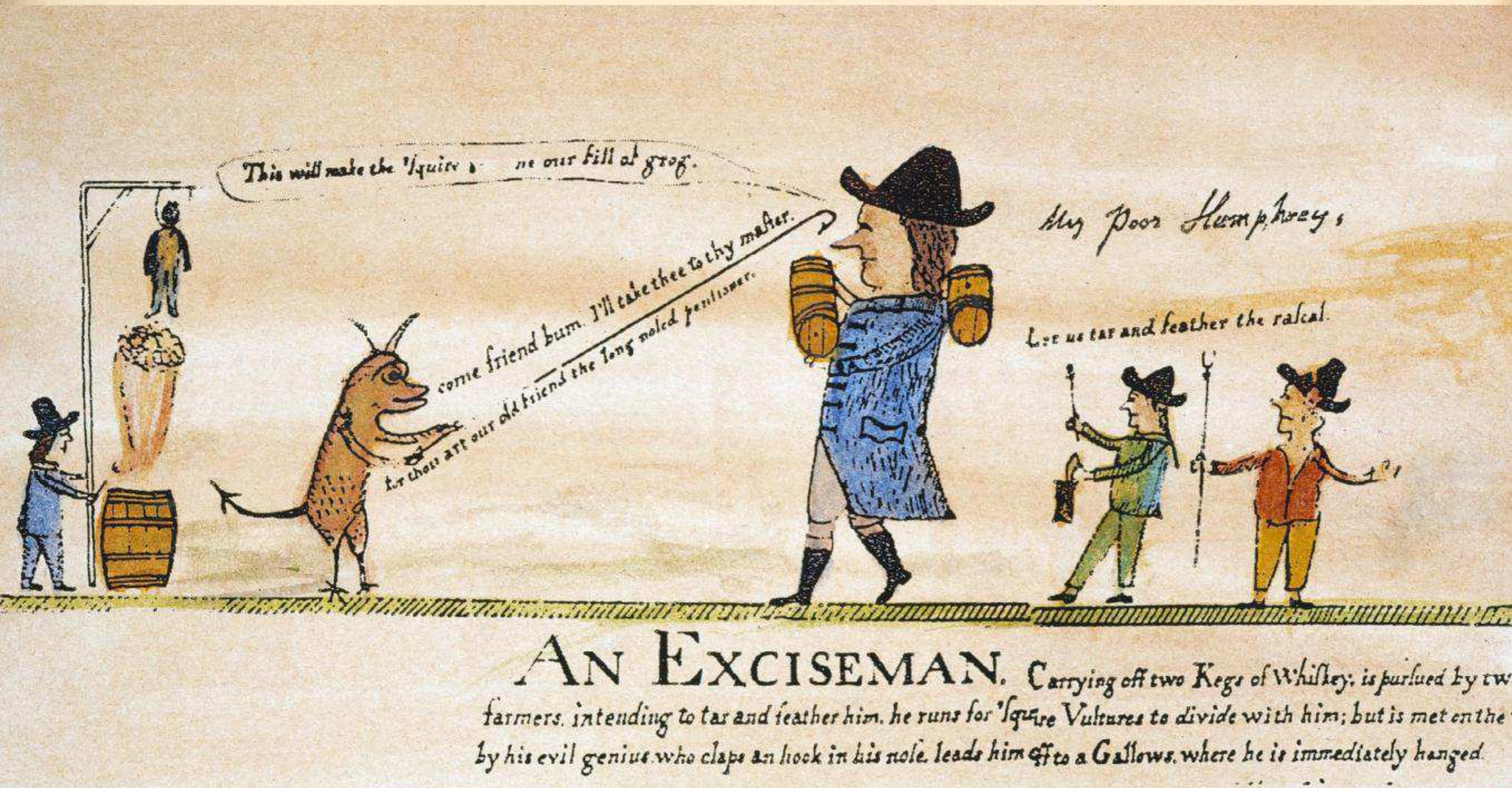
ESTABLISHING A FINANCIAL SYSTEM

As with all nations, the United States needed money. The country had accumulated some $52 million in debt to foreign countries and other Americans, not including state debts, which added about $25 million to the total. Congress set up a system of tariffs on imported goods and the Tonnage Act, which, while taxing Americans a small amount, set much higher rates for foreign ships. Alexander Hamilton proposed a complicated funding structure to pay back American speculators who had purchased IOUs to help finance the revolution. Essentially, the IOUs would be exchanged for interest-bearing bonds. He felt that if a federally chartered banking corporation received capital from the Treasury and private investors, it could then lend money to businessmen, which in turn would stimulate commerce and manufacturing. Hamilton envisioned an industrial America, providing jobs for everyone, thus giving the country a stable and growing economy. However, this bold plan didn't gain supporters easily, since the continued fear of "centralization" prevailed. James Madison and Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson were its

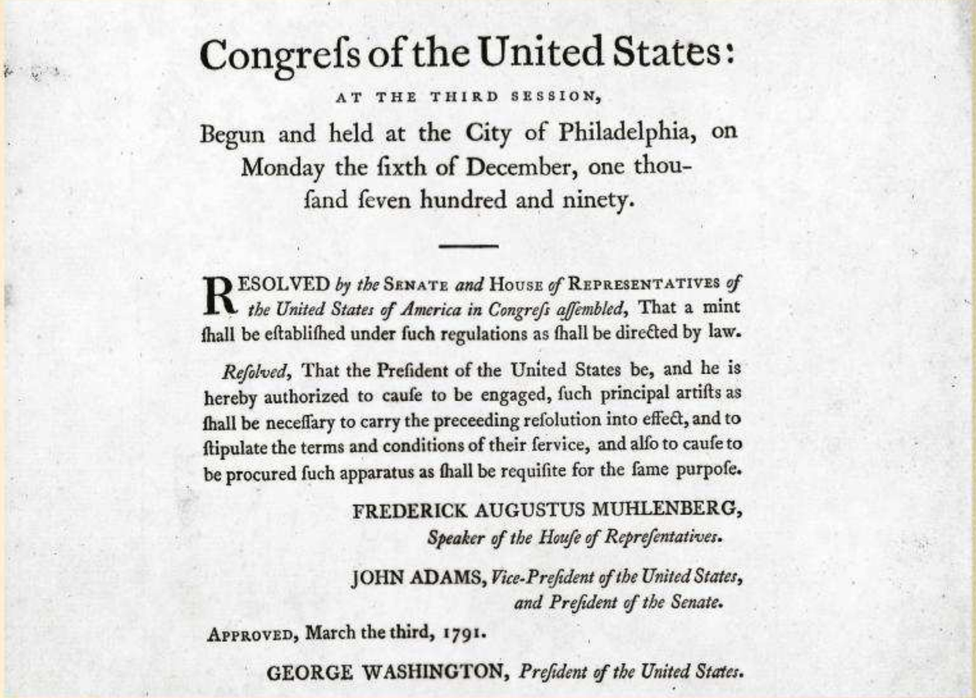
THE WHISKEY REBELLION

After Alexander Hamilton's Whiskey Tax was passed, farmers in western Pennsylvania protested, flatly refusing to pay it. During that time they also burned the homes of revenue agents and finally, in 1794, 7,000 men descended on Pittsburgh with the intention of burning down the town. It took only the sight of artillery and the promise of whiskey to mollify them. However, George Washington insisted on enforcing the law. Militiamen, numbering 13,000, stormed into western Pennsylvania. The rebels knew they were outnumbered and fled. In the end, most Pennsylvanians (especially non-distillers) agreed that the tax, though disliked, should be paid. Ironically, during Thomas Jefferson's presidency, the Whiskey Tax was repealed.

BELOW: *An antigovernment cartoon of 1794 siding with the Pennsylvania organizers of the Whiskey Rebellion who opposed the taxation power of Congress.*


This will make the 'Squire ne our fill of grog.
come friend bum. I'll take thee to thy maſter.
for thou art our old friend the long noſed penſioner.
My Poor Humphrey,
Let us tar and feather the raſcal.
AN EXCISEMAN. Carrying off two Kegs of Whiſkey, is purſued by tw
farmers, intending to tar and feather him. he runs for 'Squire Vultures to divide with him; but is met on the
by his evil genius who claps an hook in his noſe, leads him off to a Gallows, where he is immediately hanged.

RIGHT: *The Coinage Act, signed March 3, 1791, establishing the United States Mint.*



Congreſs of the United States:

AT THE THIRD SESSION,

Begun and held at the City of Philadelphia, on Monday the ſixth of December, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety.

RESOLVED *by the* SENATE *and* HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES *of the United States of America in Congreſs aſſembled*, That a mint ſhall be eſtabliſhed under ſuch regulations as ſhall be directed by law.

Reſolved, That the Preſident of the United States be, and he is hereby authorized to cauſe to be engaged, ſuch principal artiſts as ſhall be neceſſary to carry the preceeding reſolution into effect, and to ſtipulate the terms and conditions of their ſervice, and alſo to cauſe to be procured ſuch apparatus as ſhall be requiſite for the ſame purpoſe.

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG,
Speaker of the Houſe of Repreſentatives.

JOHN ADAMS, *Vice-Preſident of the United States, and Preſident of the Senate.*

APPROVED, March the third, 1791.

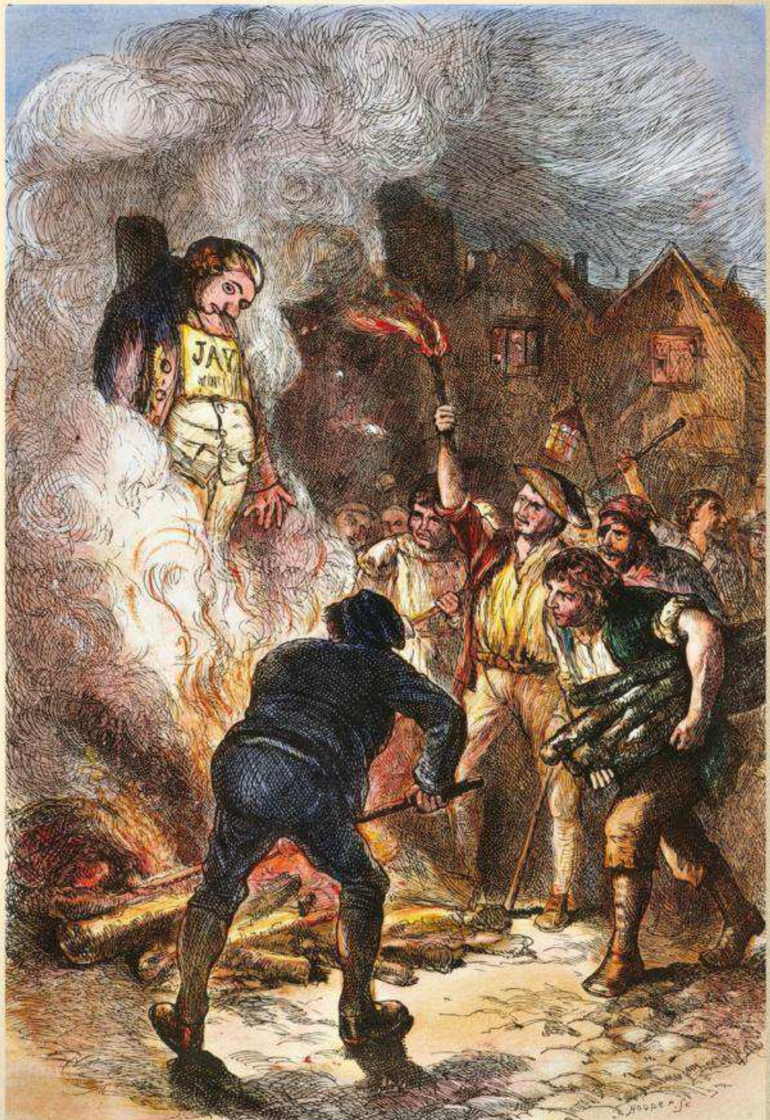
GEORGE WASHINGTON, *Preſident of the United States.*

harshest critics. Jefferson, in particular, foresaw industrialization breeding clusters of great cities full of corruption and crime. Madison, a southerner, felt the plan benefited speculators from the North. Hamilton finally struck a deal with Madison and Jefferson. He told Jefferson that unless Congress passed the proposal, the Union was in danger of collapse. To satisfy Madison, a Virginian, Hamilton suggested that the capital be moved temporarily to Philadelphia, then to an area between the two southern states: Virginia and Maryland. The bill to charter a national bank was shoved through Congress, but again it took a considerable amount of urging by Hamilton to convince President Washington (who feared that the Constitution did not allow for the government to exercise this power) to sign it.

The Whiskey Tax was passed in 1791. This was an excise on distilled liquors, which in turn paid interest on funded debt, but would later cause one of the first tests of the new Constitution. The Coinage Act the following year erased the specter of the old Continental and established the dollar, composed of dimes and cents and backed by gold or silver.

Washington exercised his presidential prerogative of negotiating treaties when he sent John Jay to England to settle some still-outstanding problems between the two countries. Among these were Great Britain's occupation of Western military posts, a boundary issue with Canada, and the seizing of American ships on the high seas. The British agreed to meet with Jay, fearing that the United States might align itself with France's new republic. Yet Great Britain had recently enjoyed some victories against other European countries, so they could afford to refuse some of America's requests. Jay was received graciously and returned with many concessions. The British would depart from the Western posts and pay American ship owners for the ships they'd taken in the West Indies. They would not, however, honor American neutrality rights on the high seas. There were several restrictions on American commerce in the West Indies, for example. Jay agreed that the country would pay pre-Revolutionary War debts owed to British merchants, making some states angry, especially when the British refused to pay for slaves that they had "abducted." Although a storm of protest arose among the population, Washington accepted the treaty and after a long and contentious deliberation, the Senate ratified Jay's Treaty in June 1795 and for the time being, another war, which neither nation could afford, was averted.

By the end of Washington's administration, the country had started the first of many westward movements. "I believe scarcely anything short of a Chinese Wall or a line of Troops will restrain… the Incroachment of Settlers," Washington said in 1796, his last full year in office.



RIGHT: *19th Century color engraving of Thomas Jefferson's followers burning John Jay in effigy following the treaty with England of 1794. Many felt the treaty gave too many concessions to the British.*

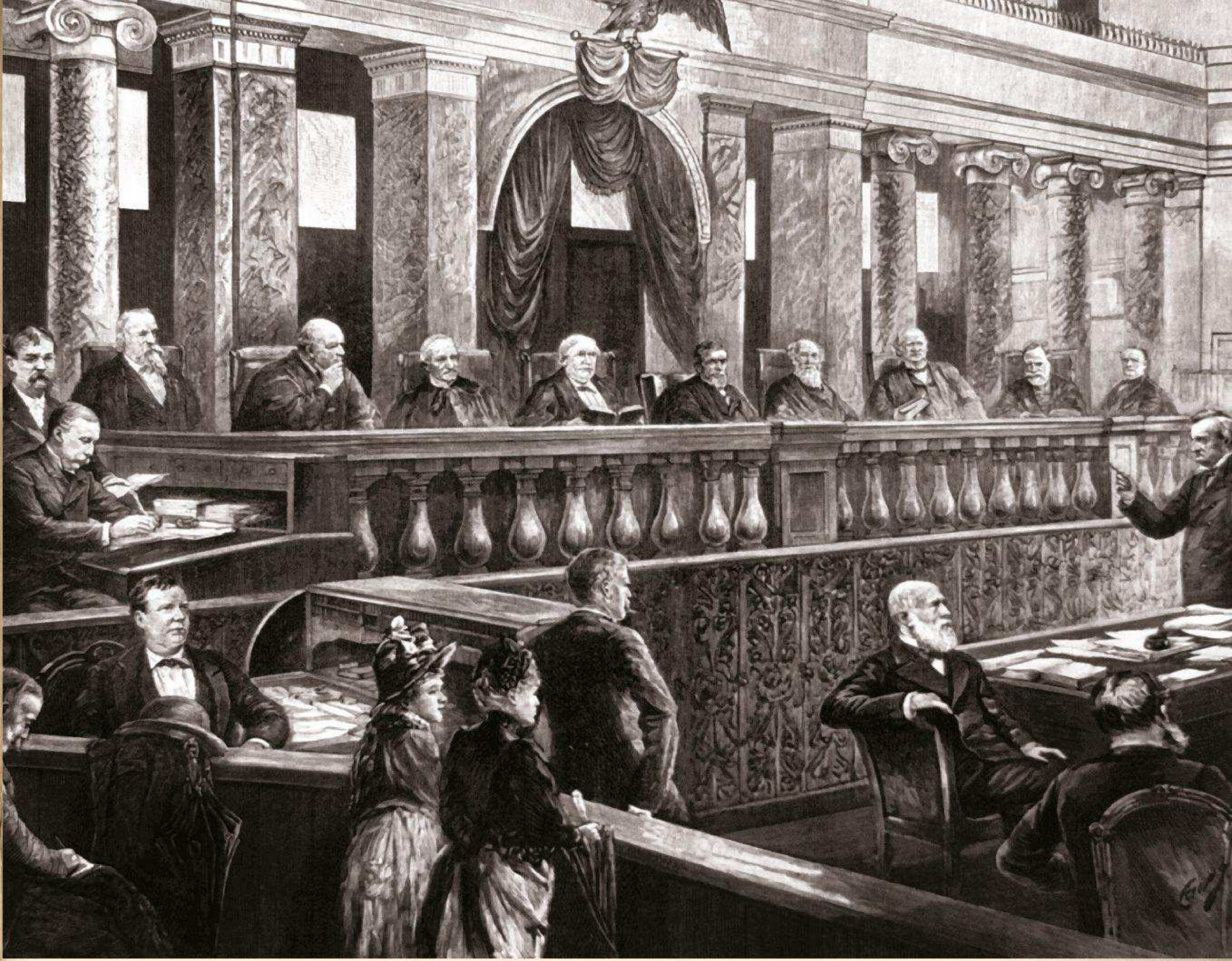
IT'S PERFECT – LET'S CHANGE IT

The Constitution's working structure, at times complex when one is forced to interpret certain passages, is also one of the shortest written constitutions in the world at a little over 4,000 words. It is also the oldest written constitution of any major government that is still in use today. It consists of a preamble (introduction), seven articles, and twenty-seven amendments, the first ten of which are known as the Bill of Rights.

The Constitution works because it has the flexibility to allow for changing times, attitudes, and even technology. Our leaders add to it, after much deliberation, following the guidelines that were set out by the Founding Fathers.

A bill (a proposed law) is introduced in the House of Representatives and given a name and number, then given to committee. The committee may decide it's unnecessary and reject it. If approved, it goes to a hearing, where representatives listen to facts about it and make possible changes. A vote is taken and, if favorable, it is sent back to the House to be read again. Members may make changes or offer amendments. The bill is read yet again, but only by title, followed by a vote. If approved, it goes to the Senate for another vote, possibly with amendments added. If defeated, the bill dies, but if approved with amendments, it then goes to a joint congressional committee to smooth out the differences and is voted on again. Once approved, it is sent to the president, who signs it into law or vetoes it.

ABOVE: *President Barack Obama takes the oath of office during the 57th Presidential Inauguration ceremonial swearing-in at the United States Capitol on January 21, 2013.*



If vetoed, the president sends the bill back to the house of origin with the reasons why it was vetoed. The bill is debated and goes up for another vote. If it receives less than two-thirds approval, the bill dies. If more than two-thirds, it is voted on again by the other house. If that passes, Congress has successfully overridden the president's veto and the bill becomes law.

The president will have certain legislative goals he would like to reach during his administration (such as the Civil Rights Bill, which was initiated by Kennedy and continued by President Johnson after Kennedy's death), but he cannot introduce a bill himself. He will call upon a congressman who has a sympathetic viewpoint on the chief executive's policy to introduce the bill to the House. He may also call upon the vice president or lobbyists to campaign for his agenda on Capitol Hill. However, a president from time to time can issue an "executive order," which has the same strength as a law. (President Truman's order desegregating the military is a good example.) In rare cases Congress can pass a bill which will cancel an executive order, which the president may veto. In that case Congress may override that veto.

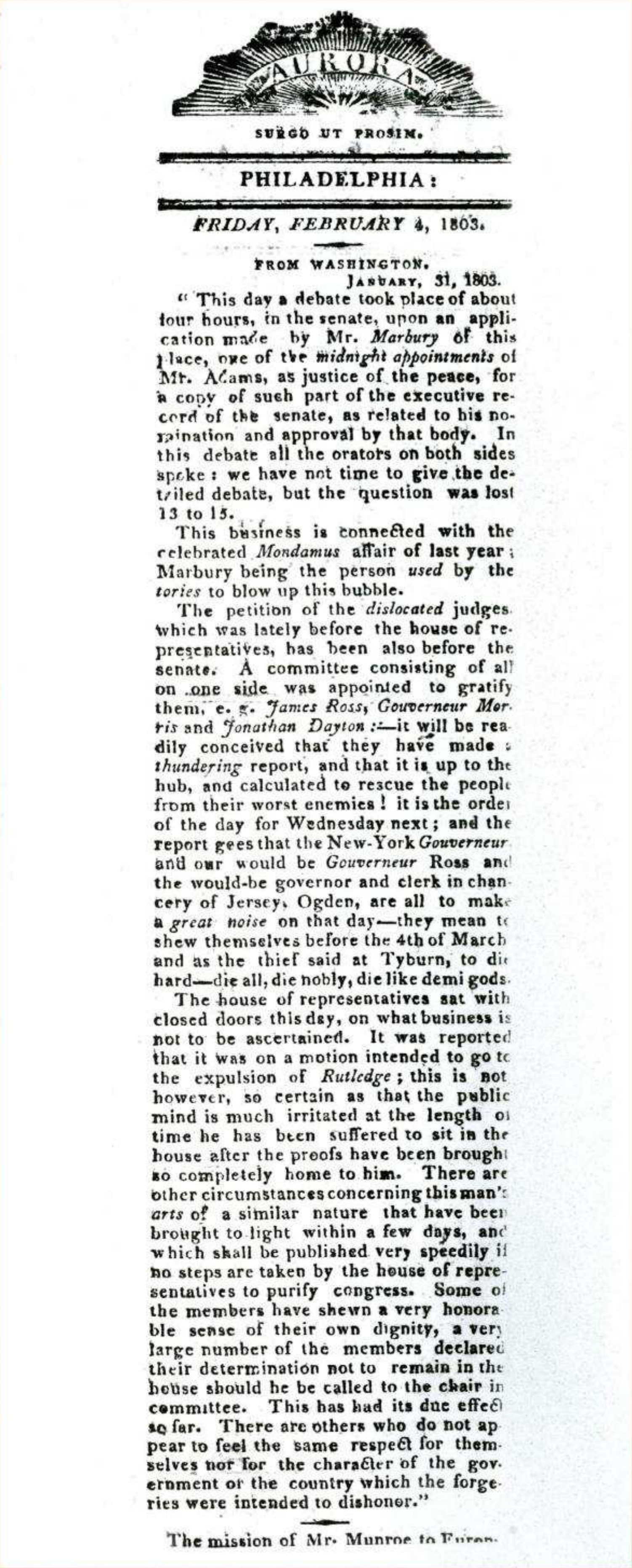
The Supreme Court portion of the Constitution engendered the least amount of controversy. The delegates provided for a supreme court, life tenure, and a salary for the judges.

ABOVE: *The justices of the United States Supreme Court, led by Chief Justice Morrison Waite, hear a case. Waite served as Chief Justice from 1874 to 1888. Most of the Supreme Court's opinions during that period favored restricting federal authority in matters relating to Reconstruction.*

OPPOSITE BOTTOM: *Speaker of the House John Boehner, R-Ohio, swears in the 113th Congress on the House floor. The House of Representatives elects its speaker on the first day of every new Congress.*

IS IT A LAW OR AN AMENDMENT?

There is little difference between a law and an amendment. A constitutional amendment may define our rights as citizens or government structure, requires a two-thirds vote in both houses of Congress, and must be ratified by three-quarters of the state legislatures. A law requires a majority vote in both houses.



AURORA

SURGO UT PROSIM.

PHILADELPHIA:

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1803.

FROM WASHINGTON.

JANUARY, 31, 1803.

"This day a debate took place of about four hours, in the senate, upon an application made by Mr. *Marbury* of this place, one of the *midnight appointments* of Mr. Adams, as justice of the peace, for a copy of such part of the executive record of the senate, as related to his nomination and approval by that body. In this debate all the orators on both sides spoke: we have not time to give the detailed debate, but the question was lost 13 to 15.

This business is connected with the celebrated *Mondamus* affair of last year; Marbury being the person *used* by the *tories* to blow up this bubble.

The petition of the *dislocated* judges which was lately before the house of representatives, has been also before the senate. A committee consisting of all on one side was appointed to gratify them, e. g. *James Ross*, *Gouverneur Morris* and *Jonathan Dayton*:—it will be readily conceived that they have made a *thundering* report, and that it is up to the hub, and calculated to rescue the people from their worst enemies! it is the order of the day for Wednesday next; and the report goes that the New-York *Gouverneur* and our would be *Gouverneur* Ross and the would-be governor and clerk in chancery of Jersey, Ogden, are all to make a *great noise* on that day—they mean to shew themselves before the 4th of March and as the thief said at Tyburn, to die hard—die all, die nobly, die like demi gods.

The house of representatives sat with closed doors this day, on what business is not to be ascertained. It was reported that it was on a motion intended to go to the expulsion of *Rutledge*; this is not however, so certain as that the public mind is much irritated at the length of time he has been suffered to sit in the house after the proofs have been brought so completely home to him. There are other circumstances concerning this man's *arts* of a similar nature that have been brought to light within a few days, and which shall be published very speedily if no steps are taken by the house of representatives to purify congress. Some of the members have shewn a very honorable sense of their own dignity, a very large number of the members declared their determination not to remain in the house should he be called to the chair in committee. This has had its due effect so far. There are others who do not appear to feel the same respect for themselves nor for the character of the government or the country which the forgeries were intended to dishonor."

The mission of Mr. Munroe to Europ

ABOVE: *Former Clerk of the House of Representatives William Tyler Page lecturing the newly elected members of the 71st Congress regarding their duties in 1929.*

Justices would be nominated by the president, but they had to be confirmed by the Senate. The court also had the power to resolve some disputes among the states. The Judiciary Act was passed in 1789, creating the lower federal trial and federal appeal courts to comply with the Constitution which stated that the "judicial Power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme Court and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may…ordain and establish."

Then in 1801, President John Adams put through the Judiciary Act of 1801, giving the president authority to appoint federal judges and justices of the peace. He also created six new circuit courts and appointed sixteen new federal judges and attorneys, marshals, and clerks. This Judiciary Act was designed to relieve the Supreme Court justices from the strain of serving as judges in a local circuit court. Most of these appointees (called "midnight justices" because Adams pushed through the appointments in the final hours of his administration) were also sympathetic to the Federalist causes. Since they were appointed for life, Adams hoped that his actions would help to keep some Federalist power alive and active in the upcoming Jefferson administration.

Shortly after Jefferson took office in 1801, Congress repealed Adams's Judiciary Act. Later the Judiciary Act of 1802 was passed, restoring parts of the 1801 act and reorganizing the federal court structure. There are a few ways to add an amendment to the

LEFT: *Account of the Supreme Court case of Marbury vs. Madison which established the constitutional doctrine of judicial review, as reported in the Philadelphia Aurora, February 4, 1803*

Constitution, and yet, although the framers allowed for flexibility, they wanted to be certain that changes weren't made without careful consideration. (One exception might be the Eighteenth Amendment, the only one to be repealed.)

The Senate or House of Representatives may propose an amendment. There must be enough representatives and senators present to form a quorum (the number of members needed to conduct business). If there are sufficient numbers for a quorum, then two-thirds of the House and two-thirds of the Senate who are present must vote "yes" for an amendment to get to the proposal stage. This joint proposal, or resolution, is sent to all the states for review; three-fourths of the states – thirty-eight total – must approve it. Each state decides the best method for voting on the amendment, but usually the proposal is debated by the state legislature and then put up for a vote. Once a state has voted in favor of an amendment, it cannot rescind its decision. However, if its legislature voted against it, then it can reverse the vote in favor of the amendment.

The Preamble of the Constitution states its purpose very clearly in these terms: it sought "to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, ensure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare and secure the Blessings of Liberty…"

Article I explains the structure of the houses of Congress – the House of Representatives and the Senate - and how they are elected. Members of Congress collect taxes, pay debts, regulate trade, and declare war.

Article II deals with the presidency, the Executive Branch, and outlines the duties of the president and vice president, how they are elected and, when necessary, removed from office (later replaced by the Twelfth Amendment).

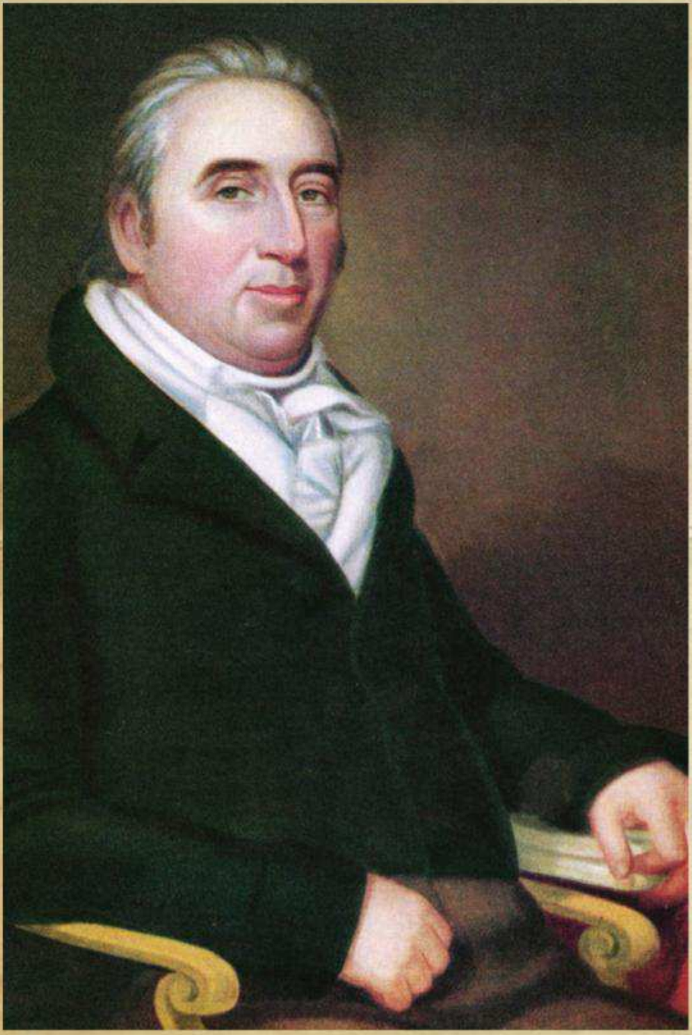
Article III establishes the judicial branch of Congress, known as the Supreme Court.

Article IV tells how the states relate to federal government.

Article V outlines how the Constitution can be amended.

Articles VI states that the Constitution is the supreme law of the land. State legislatures may not make laws that conflict with rights in the Constitution.

Article VII covers ratification. The document must be ratified by nine states. It was ratified in 1788, and became the supreme law of the land even though four states had still not signed it.



MARBURY VS. MADISON

The first challenge to the Supreme Court came in 1801, in the Marbury vs. Madison case. Shortly after taking office, President Thomas Jefferson discovered that John Adams, in the last hours of his presidency, had pushed through appointments for judges sympathetic to Federalist causes. However, Adams had neglected to distribute a few of the judges' appointment certificates. Chief Justice John Marshall felt James Madison, Thomas Jefferson's Secretary of State, should have the "honor" of delivering the remaining documents, but Jefferson, angered at Adams's tactics, made certain that the deliveries were delayed, hoping to void the commissions. One of the appointees, William Marbury, petitioned the court to direct Secretary of State James Madison to give him his appointment. Chief Justice Marshall knew that Marbury had a strong case, but he also felt that Madison should not be forced to acquiesce. Justice Marshall also claimed that a clause in the Judicial Act of 1789, which stated the Supreme Court had authority to rule on a case outside its jurisdiction, was unconstitutional. Therefore the court could not rule on Marbury's case nor force Madison to hand over the commission. This was the first congressional act to be to be partially struck down by the Supreme Court.

LEFT: *American financier and politician William Marbury, the plaintiff in the Marbury vs. Madison case, 1803.*

THE BILL OF RIGHTS

Now that the country had its essential government machinery in place, Congress met to draft the constitutional amendments, the first ten of which are known as the Bill of Rights. At the time, most leaders felt these rights were assumed, and didn't need further explanation. Years later, it is obvious that they are essential to interpreting the Constitution.

Amendment I – Freedom to practice religious beliefs, the freedom of speech and the press, plus the freedom of people to form peaceful assembly.

Amendment II – A well-regulated militia, being necessary to give security to the people, provides for the right to bear arms.

Amendment III – No quartering (hosting, lodging) of soldiers without the consent of the homeowner.

Amendment IV – No unreasonable search or seizure of a person, his home, papers, or effects.

Amendment V – A person has the right to refuse to be a witness against himself, and cannot be tried for the same crime more than once, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.

Amendment VI – In all criminal prosecutions, the accused has the right to a speedy and public trial and the right to an attorney.

Amendment VII – The right to a trial by jury in civil cases.

Amendment VIII – Excessive bail shall not be required nor excessive fines imposed or cruel and unusual punishment inflicted.

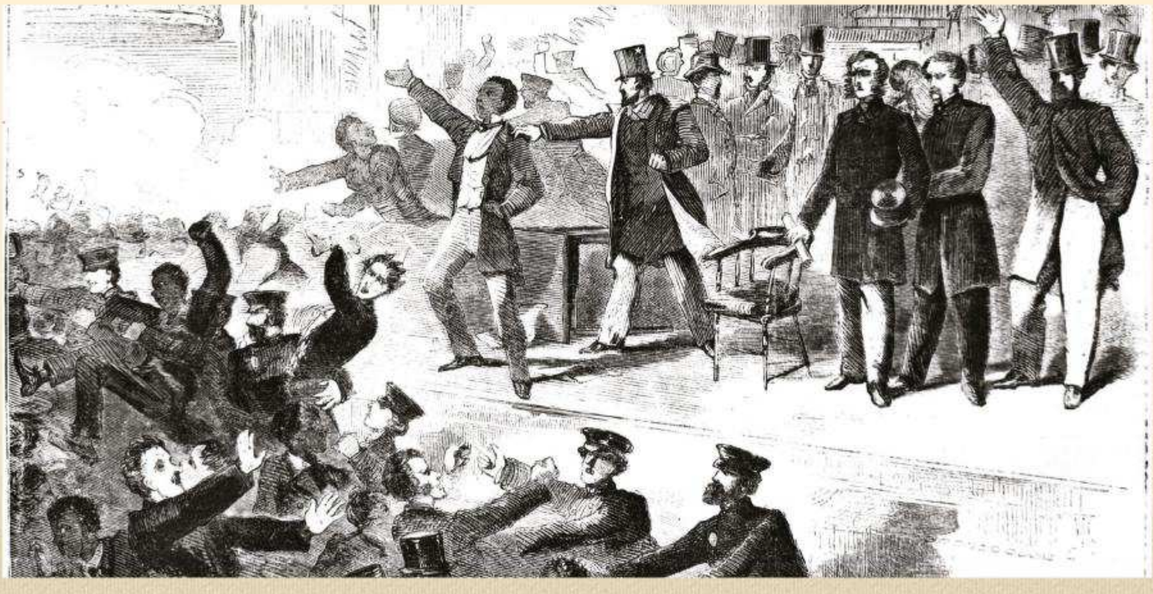
Amendment IX – Certain rights shall not be construed to deny others not mentioned in the Constitution.

Amendment X – Constitutional powers not delegated to the United States or denied to the states are reserved to the states or to the people.

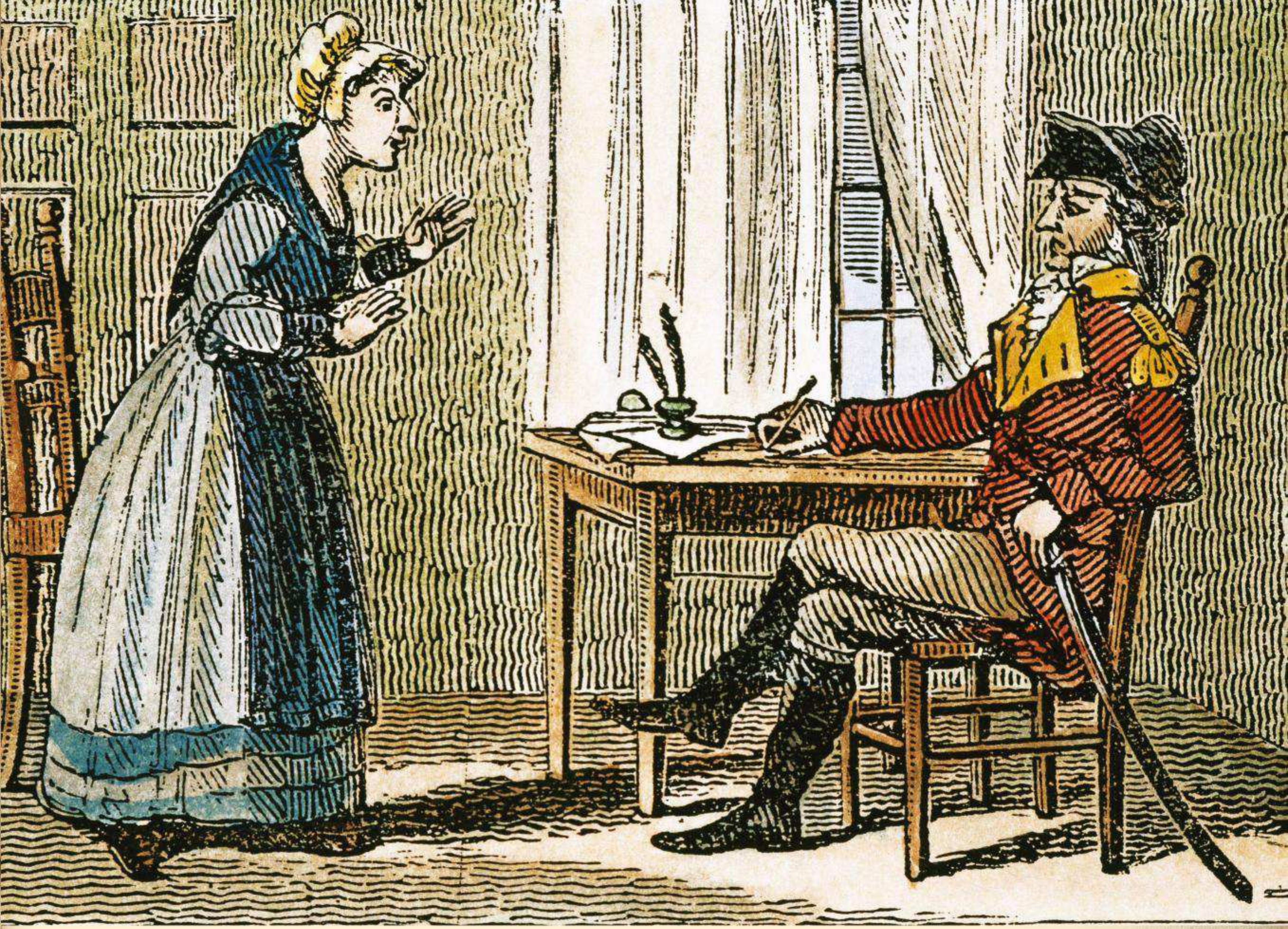
An additional seventeen amendments have been added over the last two centuries. It is interesting to note that throughout the length of the 19th Century, only four amendments were added to the document, three of which aim to address the rights of African Americans directly.

By the rude bridge that
arched the flood,
Their flag to April's
breeze unfurled,
Here once the embattled
farmers stood,
And fired the shot heard
round the world.

ABOVE: *Bronze statue of the minuteman of Concord, Massachusetts, by Daniel Chester French, c.1876. In the 18th Century, minutemen were a small force that would assemble to serve with the militia as needed, which was often at a moment's notice.*



RIGHT: *The right to free speech and peaceful assembly. Frederick Douglass speaks while a Boston mob and the police break up an abolitionist meeting on December 3, 1860. The meeting commemorated the life of abolitionist John Brown, who had been executed for his raid on the arsenal at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, the previous year.*



ABOVE: *An English officer in occupied Philadelphia questioning Mrs. Lydia Darrah in December 1777. The Darrah family was forced to house British soldiers during the Revolutionary War. The Fourth Amendment protects the right of privacy for all citizens.*

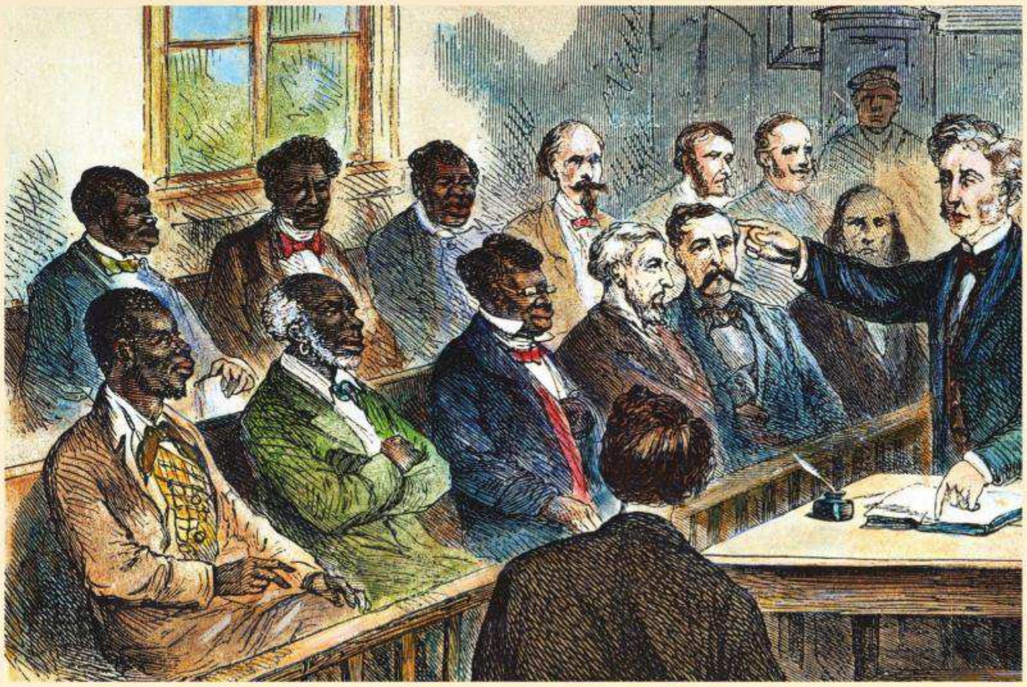
Amendment XI, adopted 1798 – Bars citizens' suits against states by residents and non-residents in a federal court.

Amendment XII, adopted 1804 – Establishment of the Electoral College. (This replaced Article II, Clause 3, Section 1.)

Electors meet in their respective states and vote for the president and vice president. Each elector submits two ballots: one for president and another for vice president. The votes are sent to the Senate and the House of Representatives, where they are counted. The candidate with the majority is elected. (Originally the Constitution stated that the candidate with the most electoral votes became president and the one with the next highest number of votes became vice president. Later, when the two-party system took hold, this resulted in the president and vice president representing two different parties.) The number of electoral representatives from each state is based on the state's population. Today, the candidates must garner at least 270 electoral votes for a majority. If neither candidate receives a majority in the Electoral College, the House of Representatives votes by state for the two receiving the most votes. If for any reason no decision is made, the new vice president takes on the presidential duties until the election is settled.

TERM PAPER BECOMES AN AMENDMENT

The story of the Twenty-seventh Amendment puts a modern spin on the concept of an ordinary citizen who speaks up and incites change. Originally the Twenty-seventh Amendment had been included in the Bill of Rights but tabled; yet it was not altogether dead, since it had been proposed long before the seven-year limit went into effect. In 1982 Gregory Watson, a University of Texas sophomore, stumbled upon the story of the amendment and decided to use it as a term paper subject, concluding that this amendment still had validity and could be brought up before Congress. Despite his professor's misgivings, the student persisted, however, and for the next several months wrote to state legislators, eventually convincing them to propose it to Congress. Persistence paid off and the amendment was ratified in 1992.



TOP: *An integrated jury in a Southern courtroom. The Constitution established the jury system as a protection against aggressive prosecutors or prejudiced judges.*

BOTTOM: *"In Safe Waters at Last": a 1913 cartoon commenting on the passage of the Sixteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which permits Congress to tax individual incomes.*

Amendment XIII, adopted 1865 – Slavery in the United States is abolished, and Congress has the right of enforcement. Some states refused to ratify it. In fact, Mississippi approved ratification in 1995, but did not formally approve it until 2013.

Amendment XIV, adopted 1868 – Grants African Americans, or anyone who was born in the United States, full citizenship, including those who were naturalized citizens. This amendment was ratified to eliminate discrimination which existed after the Thirteenth Amendment was enacted. In addition, it eliminated the "three-fifths of a person" ruling in the original Constitution.

Amendment XV, adopted 1870 – All citizens have the right to vote. States may set their own voting rules, but cannot prevent a person from voting due to his race, color, or former status as a slave.

Amendment XVI, adopted 1913 – Congress has the power to tax incomes. Prior to this, except during the Civil War, the federal government relied on excise taxes to fund projects.

Amendment XVII, adopted 1913 – reapportionment of the Senate: two from each state, elected every six years. When vacancies happen, it's up to the governor of the state to appoint a replacement. Prior to this, senators were appointed by legislators.

Amendment XVIII, adopted 1918 – Forbade the sale, manufacture, or transportation of intoxicating liquors. Supported by the law known as the Volstead Act, it gave rise to crime, murder, and corruption as liquor production and supply went underground.

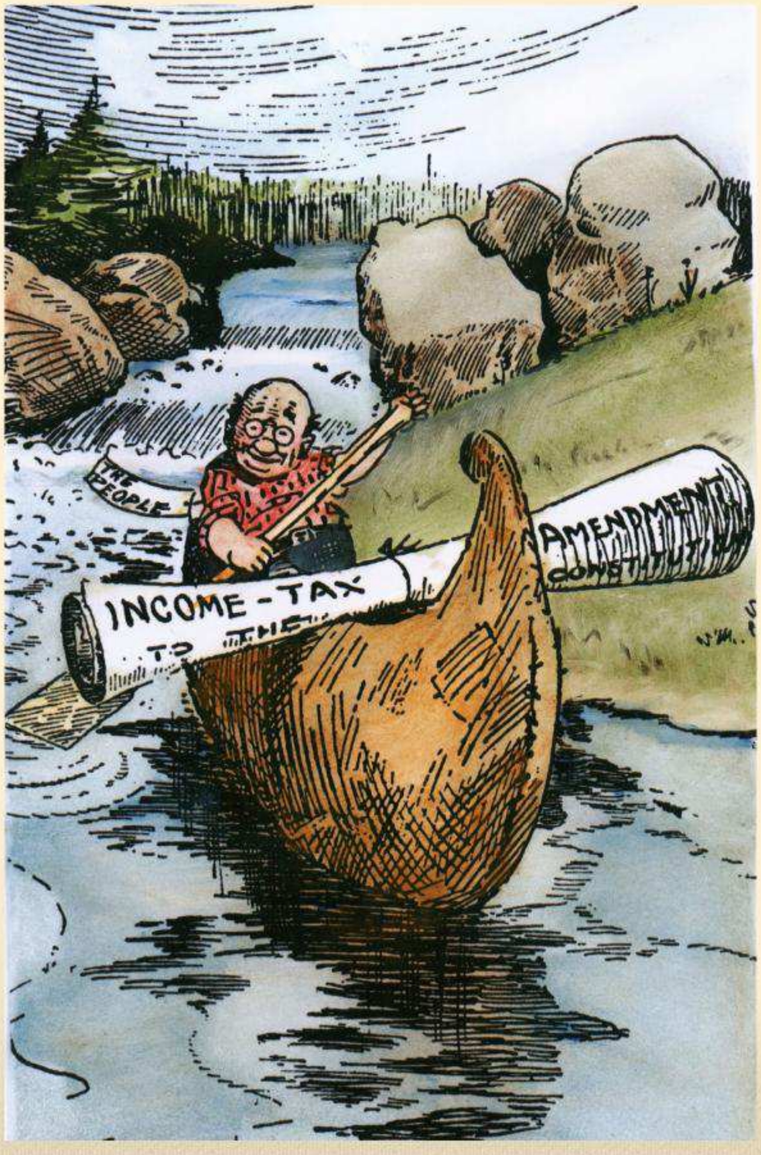
Amendment XIX, adopted 1920 – Granted women's suffrage.

Amendment XX, adopted 1933 – Changed the presidential inauguration from March 3 to January 20, to avoid an extended "lame duck" session in Washington.

Amendment XXI, adopted 1933 – Repealed the Eighteenth Amendment, which had caused more problems than it solved.

Amendment XXII, adopted 1951 – Established the two-term limit for presidents. This was prompted by Franklin D. Roosevelt, who had been elected to four terms, even though he was in very poor health when elected for his last term in 1944. He died in office in 1945.

Amendment XXIII, adopted 1961 – Allowed for citizens who live in the District of Columbia to be represented in the Electoral



RIGHT: *Missouri governor Frederick Gardner signs the resolution ratifying the Nineteenth Amendment, granting women's suffrage in 1919.*

College. Originally, D.C. was envisioned as a seat of government, not a place where people both worked and lived. This amendment gave D.C. citizens full voting rights.

Amendment XXIV, adopted 1964 – Outlawed poll tax in federal elections. Following the Civil War, the South established poll taxes as another way of preventing African Americans from voting.

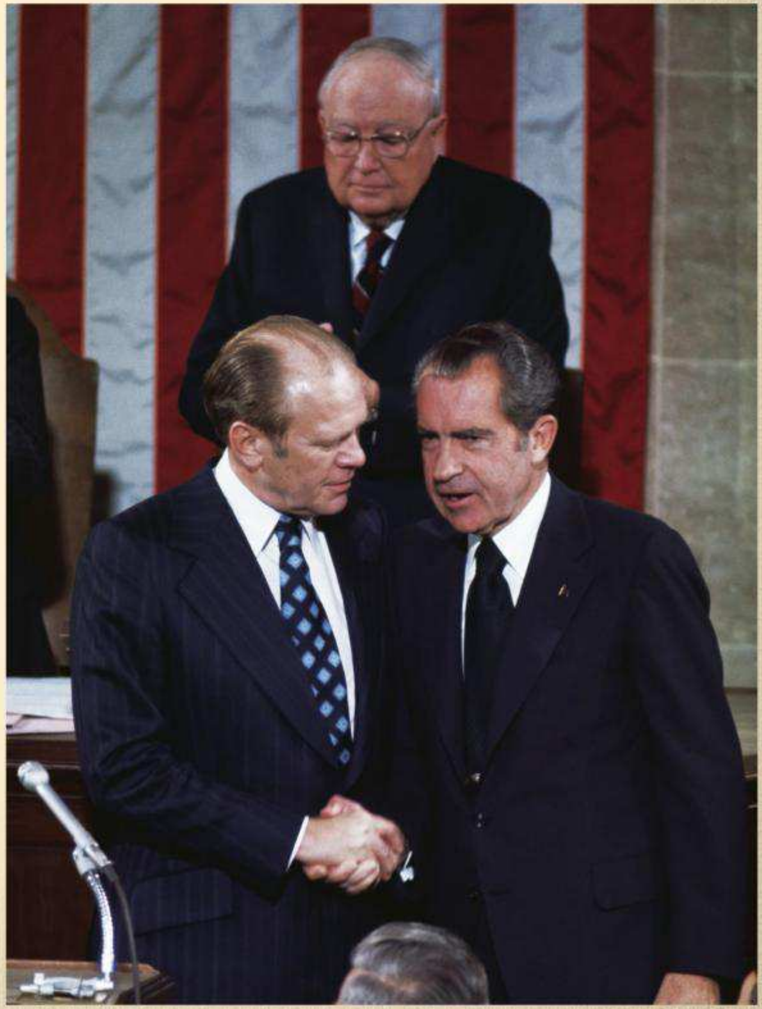
Amendment XXV, adopted 1967 – Provided for presidential succession. Although Article II stated that if the president is unable to carry out his duties, the office "shall devolve upon the Vice President," it was not clear if the vice president was in fact the president, or acting president. This amendment stated that the vice president becomes a full-fledged president. It also allows for appointing a vice presidential replacement if that office becomes vacant. This amendment was tested only a few years later in 1973. Vice President Spiro Agnew resigned after he admitted to tax evasion. President Nixon appointed Congressman Gerald Ford as vice president. In 1974 President Nixon, rather than face impeachment, resigned in the wake of the Watergate scandal. Ford became president and named Nelson Rockefeller as vice president.

Amendment XXVI, adopted 1971 – Lowered the voting age to 18 years. During the Vietnam War, when young men were drafted into military service, they felt it was unfair not to have a say in voting for their president.

Amendment XXVII, adopted 1992 – An increase or decrease in pay for congressional members is delayed until the next set of terms in office. This amendment actually dates back to the 1700s when the Bill of Rights was being drafted. However, only six of eleven states ratified it—not enough for it to pass.

Constitutional changes can also be enacted through a constitutional convention, but this proposal has never actually been put before Congress. There is now also a seven-year time limit imposed on amendments. If an amendment isn't ratified after seven years then it is considered dead and will not be brought before Congress again.

RIGHT: *Gerald R. Ford shakes hands with President Richard M. Nixon at Ford's vice presidential inauguration in December 1973. James Eastland, president pro tempore of the Senate, looks on. Nixon appointed Ford following Vice President Spiro Agnew's resignation.*



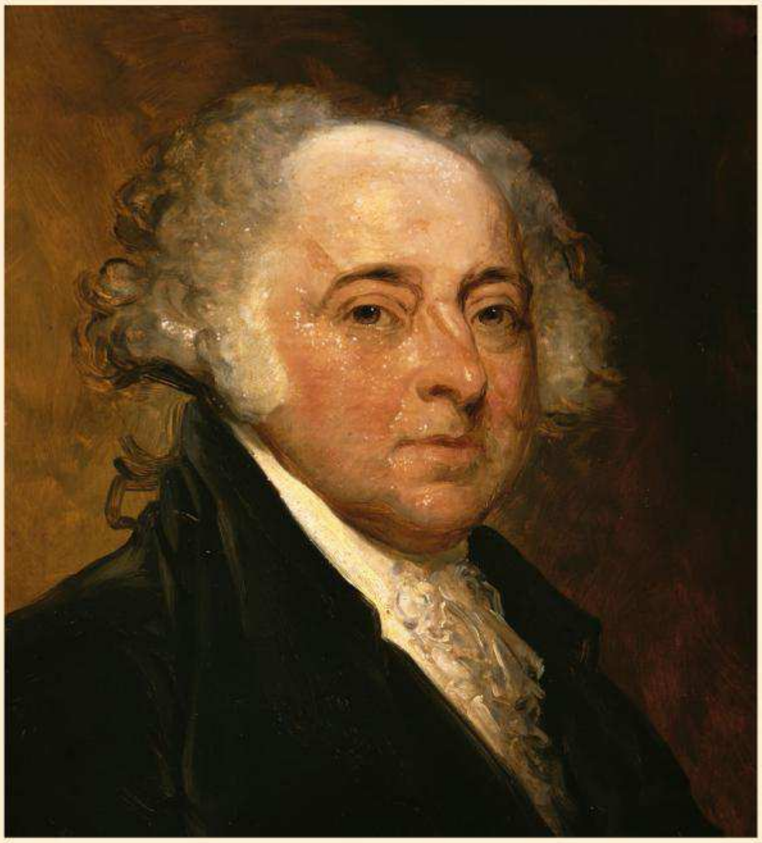
NO AMENDMENT IS EASY

The framers of the Constitution wanted to make any proposed revisions subject to intense scrutiny before ratification. Since 1789, thousands of amendments have been proposed in Congress. Over the last two centuries, thirty-three proposals garnered the required two-thirds vote in the legislature after which they were presented to the states for ratification. Of these, twenty-seven amendments were added to the Constitution.

DISTRIBUTION OF POWER

It had been relatively easy to choose the country's first president. George Washington was loved by the populace and retained respect within the halls of power. By 1800, however, the political climate reflected two points of view: Republicans (those who followed Jefferson's philosophy of a limited central government, with more power to the states) and Federalists (the Hamiltonians, including John Adams, who believed a stronger central government was essential to preserving national unity). John Adams had been elected president in 1796 over Thomas Jefferson, winning by a narrow margin of seventy-one electoral votes over Jefferson's sixty-eight. Jefferson served as Adams's vice president, and at this point it became obvious that a president and vice president with opposing philosophies created a somewhat unstable governing body. During Adams's administration there had been a danger of war with France when the French attacked American shipping, then in effect demanded money (bribes), during an episode known as the XYZ Affair. Adams refused to give in to France's demands and managed to avoid going to war with the nation that had once supported American independence. Fortunately, France never really wanted war with the United States, and eventually the issue faded.

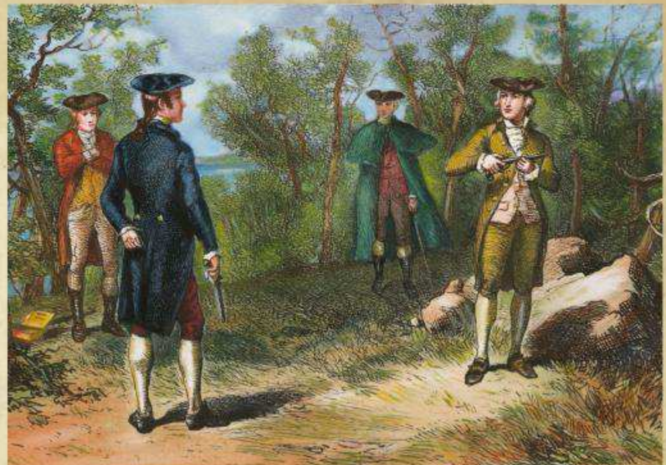
However, fearing the possibility of European agitators infiltrating the country, the Federalists pushed through the Alien and Sedition Acts. The Alien and Enemies Act allowed the president to arrest



BELOW: *Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr prepare to duel. Many men at the time, especially southerners, believed in dueling to preserve their honor.*

HAMILTON AND BURR MEET AT DAWN

Alexander Hamilton was smart, perceptive, and aggressive, but his pride proved to be his undoing. In 1804, he learned of a treasonous plot supposedly engineered by Aaron Burr involving the formation of a separate union of northern states. Referring to Burr as an "unfit and dangerous man," Hamilton fought against Burr's bid for governor of New York. After Burr lost the election, he challenged Hamilton to a duel. To avoid humiliation, Hamilton felt he had to accept and the men faced off at dawn on July 11, 1804. Hamilton was mortally wounded and died the following day. Burr was indicted for murder, but was never tried.

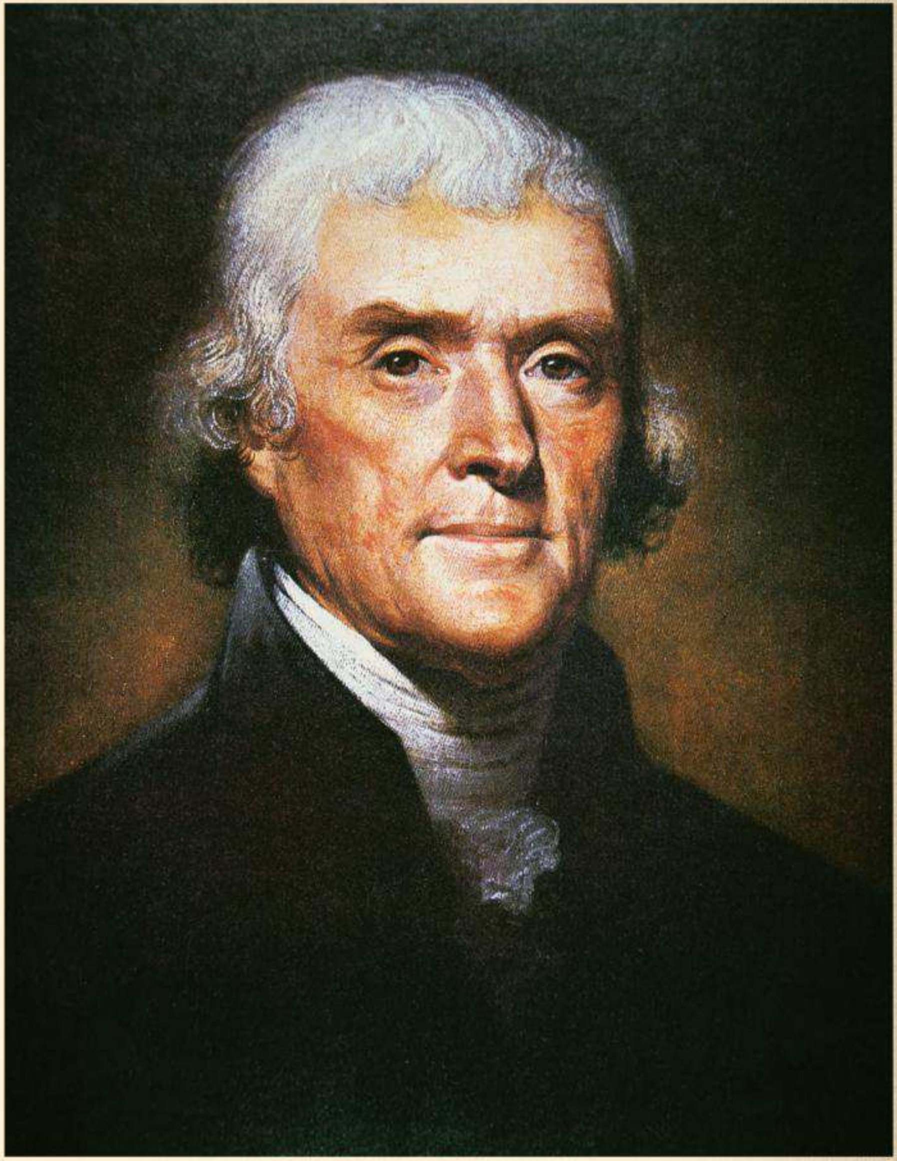


or expel aliens during wartime if he felt they were a danger to the peace of the country. The Sedition Act made it a crime to "impede the operation of any law" or instigate an insurrection; however, this included a section which forbade the publishing of any "false, scandalous and malicious" statements about the government. This did not sit well with Jefferson, since to him it violated the provisions of the First Amendment. He and James Madison initiated the Kentucky and Virginia Resolves, which stated that individual states could declare a law passed by Congress as unconstitutional. Kentucky and Virginia never tried to push these resolves through, but the resolves did help Jefferson put forth the issues for a presidential campaign in 1800.

In the election of 1800, Republicans Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr each received seventy-three electoral votes for president. This left the tie-breaking decision to the House of Representatives. After several deadlocks, Alexander Hamilton declared Jefferson the winner, although he and his fellow Federalists believed that Jefferson was somewhat obsessive regarding his faith in the rights of man and government by the people. However, Hamilton detested Burr even more, so in the end he persuaded Federalists to consider Jefferson for president. It is possible that Jefferson may have assured opponents that he would carry on Hamilton's financial system, and Washington and Adams's foreign policy. This drama resulted in the Twelfth Amendment, which, to avoid another impasse, allowed for two ballots in the Electoral College – one for the president and another for vice president.

In true Republican fashion, Thomas Jefferson eschewed the ostentatious trappings that might smack of the hated "monarchism." In the spirit of this attitude, he walked to his inauguration at the new nation's capital, Washington, D.C. His blue coat, thick drab-colored waistcoat, green velveteen breeches, yarn stockings, and slippers gave the appearance of a leader who was determined to pay homage to the common man.

This election also showed that the United States Constitution had reached and overcome a significant hurdle. Power had passed peacefully and intelligently, from one political power to another. At the same time, a constitutional amendment was made to accommodate a new political climate. In choosing Jefferson, the country was ready to embrace individual freedom and let national power take a back seat. Yet Jefferson supported all the Federalist achievements, and in the years to come he would make significant strides of his own, in particular negotiating the Louisiana Purchase, which nearly doubled the size of the new nation.

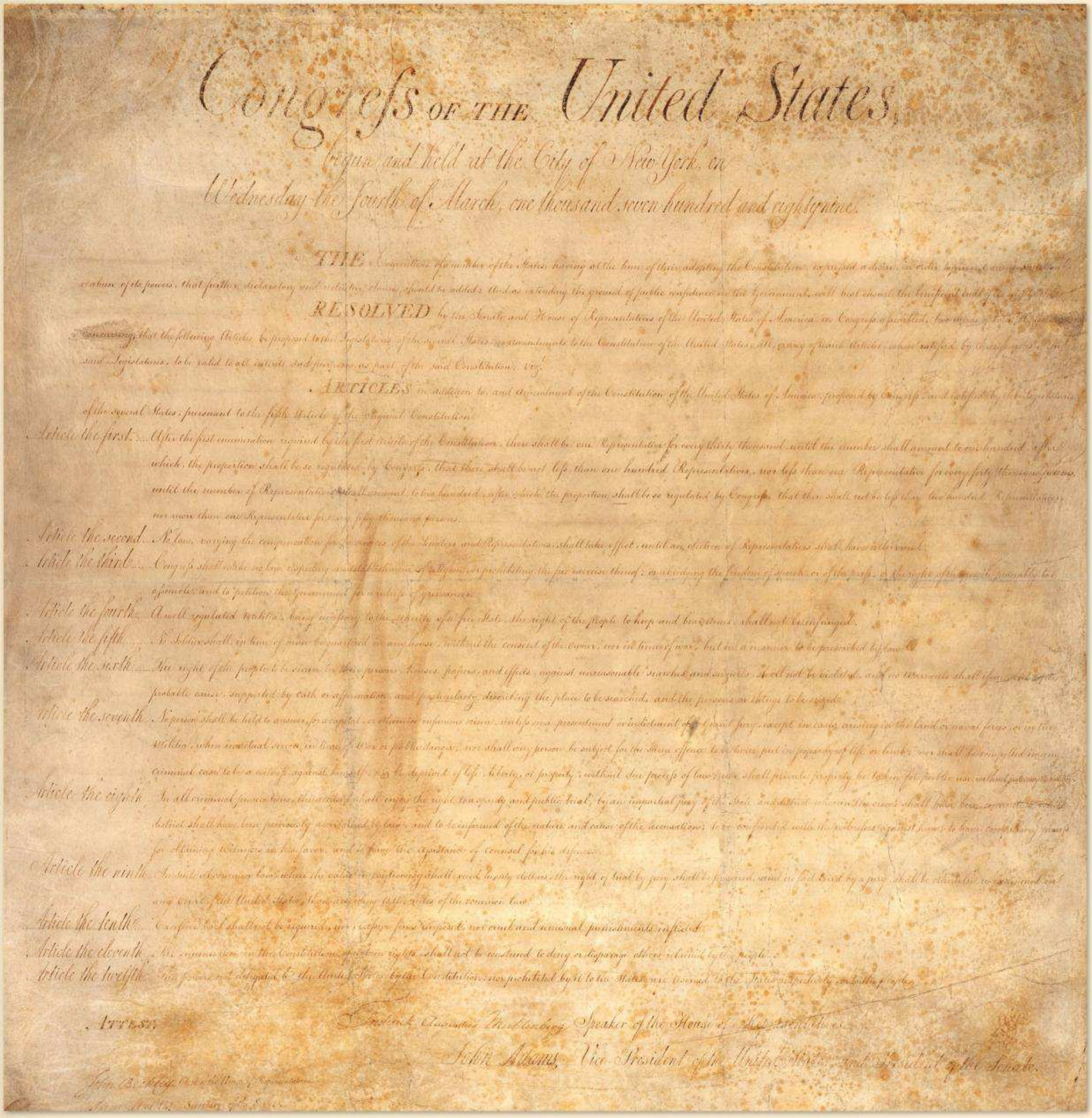


OPPOSITE TOP: *John Adams, second president of the United States and vice president under George Washington. Adams's argumentative demeanor led many to believe that he was the most independent-minded of all the presidents.*

ABOVE: *Thomas Jefferson, the third president of the United States and primary author of the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson wrote a bill establishing religious freedom in Virginia in 1786.*

RISE OF THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

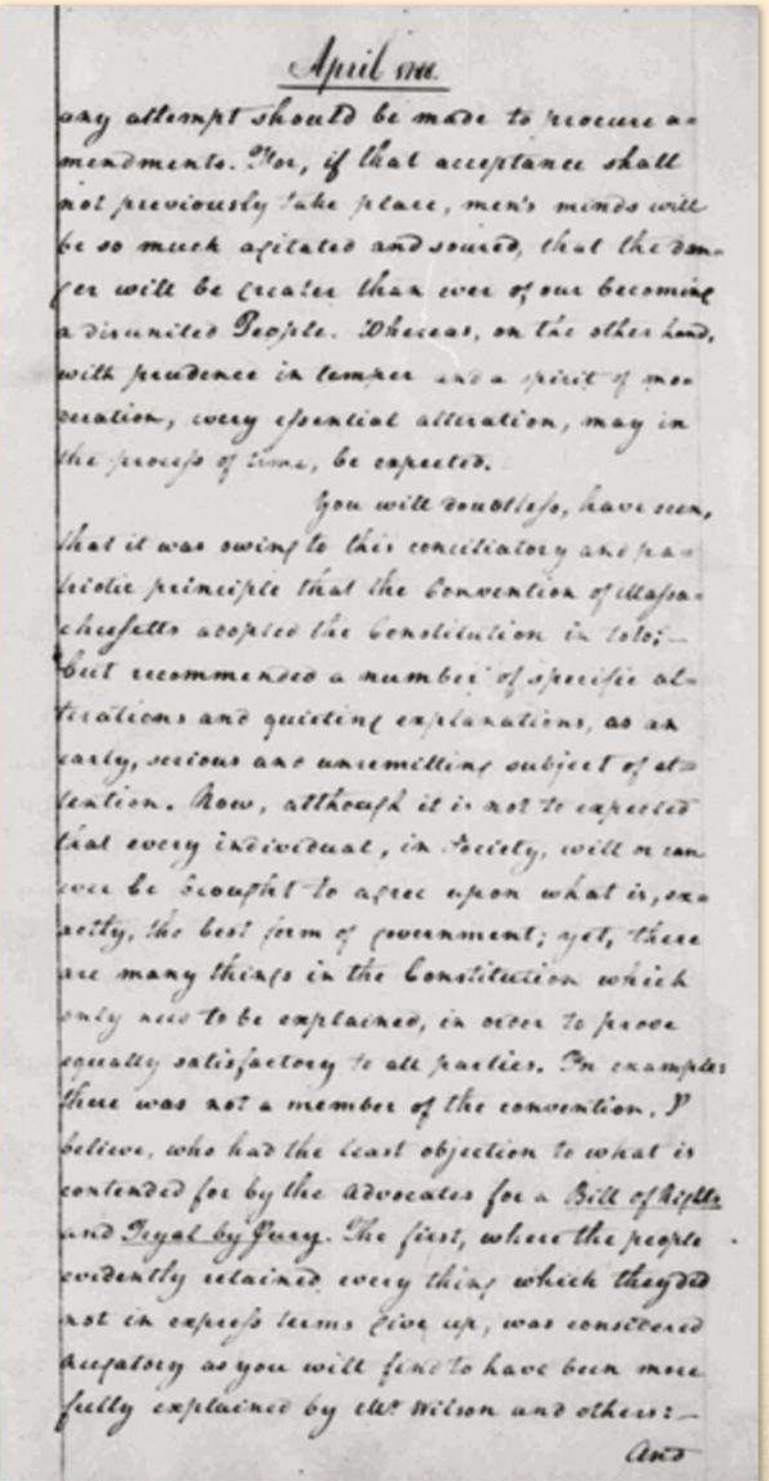
The two-party system gained more prominence after Washington's administration ended. Politicians were now divided into the Federalists, who, in the Washington and Adams administrations, had given the country the strength of leadership needed to bring about a sound fiscal order, handle differences with Great Britain, and avoid getting embroiled in European conflicts. By 1800 the Federalists felt threatened by the party known as Democratic Republicans, who followed Thomas Jefferson's vision of a return to a simple, agrarian society free to govern itself and, by its simplicity, needing little governing by forceful politicians.



Congreſs of the United States,
begun and held at the City of New-York, on
Wednesday the fourth of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty nine.

THE BILL OF RIGHTS

ABOVE: James Madison penned the first ten amendments to the Constitution not implicit in the original document. They became the Bill of Rights.



April 1788.

any attempt should be made to procure amendments. For, if that acceptance shall not previously take place, men's minds will be so much agitated and soured, that the danger will be greater than ever of our becoming a disunited People. Whereas, on the other hand, with prudence in temper and a spirit of moderation, every essential alteration, may in the process of time, be expected.

You will doubtless, have seen, that it was owing to this conciliatory and patriotic principle that the Convention of Massachusetts adopted the Constitution in toto;—but recommended a number of specific alterations and quieting explanations, as an early, serious and unremitting subject of attention. Now, although it is not to be expected that every individual, in Society, will or can ever be brought to agree upon what is, exactly, the best form of government; yet, there are many things in the Constitution which only need to be explained, in order to prove equally satisfactory to all parties. For example: there was not a member of the convention, I believe, who had the least objection to what is contended for by the Advocates for a Bill of Rights and Tryal by Jury. The first, where the people evidently retained every thing which they did not in express terms give up, was considered nugatory as you will find to have been more fully explained by Mr. Wilson and others:—

And

LETTER FROM GEORGE WASHINGTON TO LAFAYETTE

LEFT: This extract from a 1788 letter from George Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette explains his position in adding amendments to the Constitution before it had been accepted by all States.

> *“For, if that acceptance shall not previously take place, men’s minds will be so much agitated and soured, that the danger will be greater than ever of our becoming a disunited People.”*

George Washington
April 28, 1788

GROWING THE COUNTRY

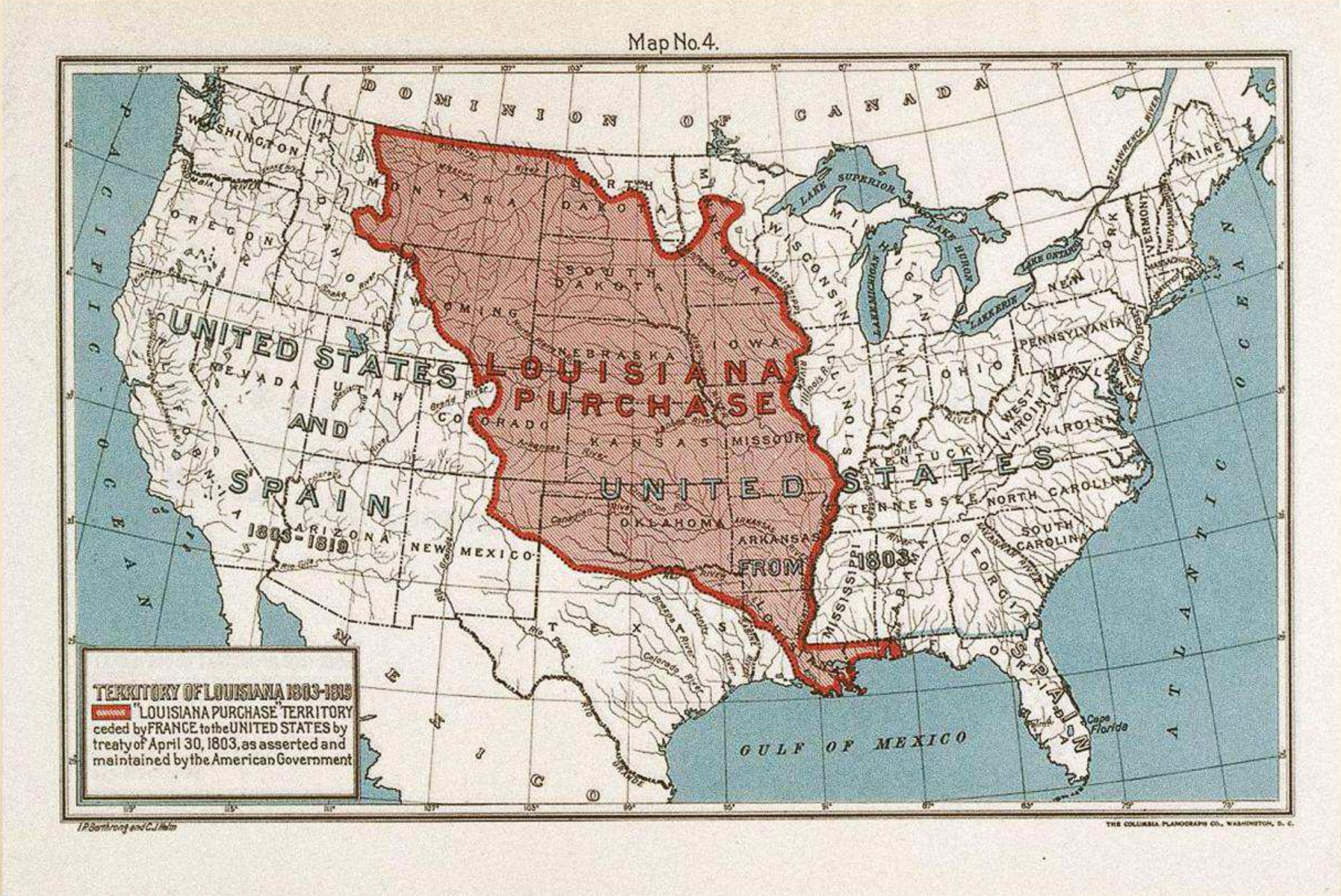
Thomas Jefferson, the third president of the United States, believed in an agrarian economy, states' rights, and small government. He was a scholar, an inventor, architect, and bibliophile who had an old-shoe lifestyle, answered the door if someone knocked, and made the unconventional decision to walk from his Washington apartment to his first inauguration. He was also, more notably, largely responsible for the biggest land grab in United States history – an action that appeared to challenge the powers of the president in the freshly minted Constitution.

For Jefferson, the Louisiana Purchase (the "grab") of 1803 was a colossal leap of faith for a small accretion of former colonies huddled largely on the eastern seaboard of the vast North American continent. The whole shady business began with the vaguely disreputable attempt by Napoleon Bonaparte to peddle a plot of land he didn't own. Originally, the millions of acres known as "Louisiana" were claimed by both France and Spain.

The 1763 conclusion of the Seven Years' War in Great Britain's favor forced France to relinquish that claim and Spain now officially owned the middle of the North American continent west of the Mississippi River down to New Orleans. The United States planned to pick away at this grand swath of territory, acquiring it over time.

For the moment, however, Spain controlled all traffic on the Mississippi. Pinckney's Treaty of 1795 provided Americans with the "right of transit" and use of New Orleans as an entry-exit port for goods to and from the interior east of the river. Following the 1783

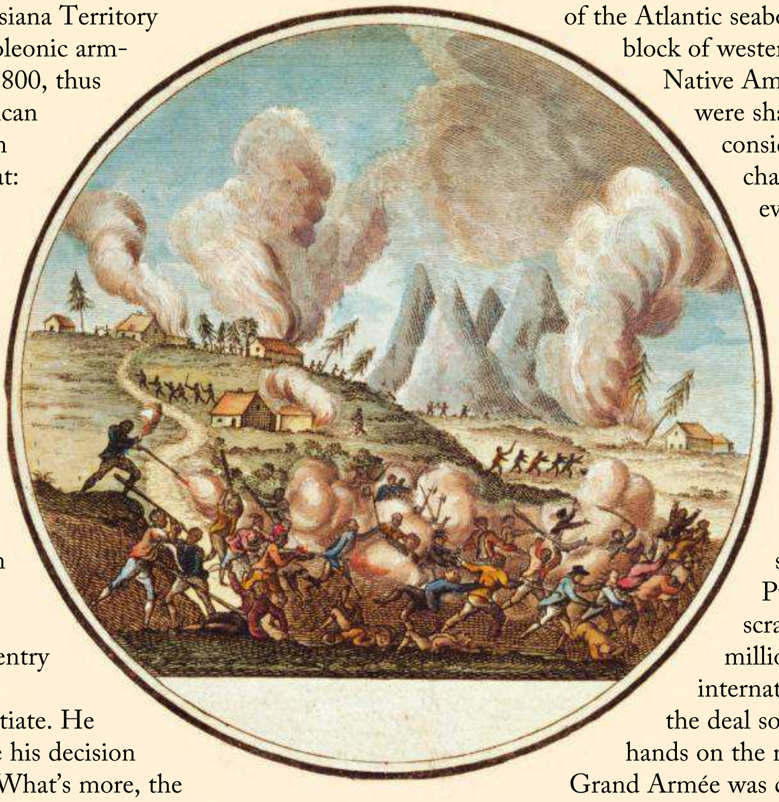
BELOW: *The Louisiana Purchase virtually doubled the size of the United States. Jefferson dispatched three expeditions to see what he had bought for $15 million.*


Map No. 4.
DOMINION OF CANADA
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
MEXICO
LOUISIANA PURCHASE
UNITED STATES AND SPAIN 1803-1819
UNITED STATES FROM 1803
SPAIN
WASHINGTON
OREGON
IDAHO
MONTANA
WYOMING
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
NEBRASKA
COLORADO
KANSAS
OKLAHOMA
TEXAS
NEVADA
UTAH
CALIFORNIA
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
MINNESOTA
IOWA
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
LOUISIANA
WISCONSIN
MICHIGAN
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
SOUTH CAROLINA
NORTH CAROLINA
VIRGINIA
WEST VIRGINIA
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
MARYLAND
VERMONT
MAINE
LAKE SUPERIOR
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE HURON
LAKE ERIE
LAKE ONTARIO
Cape Florida
TERRITORY OF LOUISIANA 1803-1819
"LOUISIANA PURCHASE" TERRITORY ceded by FRANCE to the UNITED STATES by treaty of April 30, 1803, as asserted and maintained by the American Government
THE COLUMBIA PLANOGRAPH CO., WASHINGTON, D. C.

Peace Treaty that forced British settlers out of the area, Americans rushed into this “Mississippi Territory.”

Meanwhile, Spain and France signed the Treaty of Ildefonso, which returned the Louisiana Territory back to France. This result of Napoleonic arm-twisting concluded on October 1, 1800, thus reopening the Mississippi to American trade. Tallyrand, the French foreign affairs minister, wrote hopefully that: “The French Republic...will be the wall of brass forever impenetrable to the combined efforts of England and America.”

It was some time before the United States government learned of this treaty. In 1802, not wanting to be bound by the interests of France and Spain, President Jefferson shipped James Monroe and Robert R. Livingston to Paris to negotiate with Napoleon for the purchase of the city of New Orleans. The aim was, at the very least, to guarantee use of the city’s entry port into the Mississippi River.



Napoleon was in a mood to negotiate. He needed cash – lots of it – to finance his decision to cross Spain and crush Portugal. What’s more, the slaves of French-owned Saint-Domingue (Haiti) had caused a revolution and massacred their local French government, allowing Saint-Domingue to become the first independent, former slave state in the world. This round of bad luck for the French meant the loss of sugar revenues and, combined with a future desire to invade Britain, forced Napoleon to trim some real estate for a quick profit.

He made Monroe and Livingston an offer they couldn’t refuse. The whole Louisiana Territory could be theirs for $15 million. The American negotiators had authority to pay up to $10 million for New Orleans and its environs, and while stupefied by Napoleon’s offer, they managed to restrain themselves long enough to accept the deal and sign the purchase treaty.

While confident that the president would be pleased, Monroe and Livingston had forgotten about the U.S. Constitution. Jefferson’s allies in government, including James Madison, were tarred with the same brush as hypocrites by Hamilton’s strong central government Federalists. Making big land purchases without the advice and consent of Congress seemed at odds with the “Jeffersonian” style of small populist government.

The House of Representatives approved the purchase by only two votes – against strenuous opposition by majority leader John Randolph – but the loudest cry against the real estate deal was the taint of being unconstitutional. Jefferson countered that the Constitution never mentioned the acquisition of any tract of land, and the government had the chance to evict France from America. There were any number of weighty issues on the front burner of American politics during this period. An explosion of free and slave states, the racial stew of free Black people, French and Spanish living in New Orleans being offered citizenship, dilution of the power of the Atlantic seaboard states, a huge new voting block of western farmers, and more indigenous Native American tribes to be “supervised” were sharply debated considerations. After considerable browbeating, all political challenges and attempted blockades eventually faded away.

All that remained which could prevent closure of the deal for Louisiana was Bonaparte’s lack of a bill of sale from the Spanish. James Madison tried to appeal to Spain’s better nature and discovered there was none where Louisiana was concerned.

All diplomatic avenues went nowhere, so the U.S. left France to sort out Spain and signed the final Purchase Treaty in 1803. Congress scraped together a down payment of $3 million in gold and paid off the rest with international banking houses, underwriting the deal so Bonaparte could quickly lay his hands on the money. The cash lasted until his Grand Armée was crushed by an international coalition at Waterloo in 1814.

ABOVE: *Slave rebellion on San Domingue (Haiti) established the first slave-created nation when the French were driven out, causing Napoleon to replace lost sugar revenues by selling off real estate.*

ADDITIONAL ELBOW ROOM – THE LOUISIANA TERRITORY

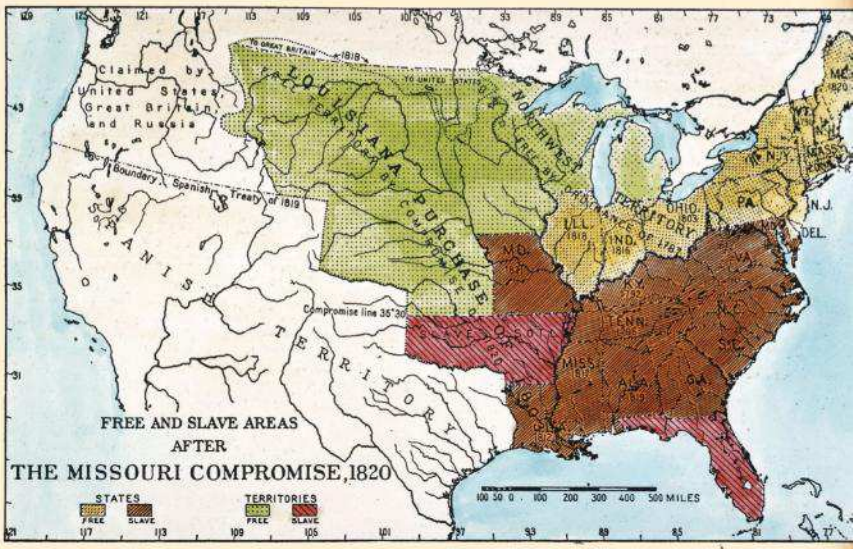
The total area acquired in the 1803 Louisiana Treaty with France encompassed about 828,000 square miles. For that $15 million the U.S. took possession of land that would later become Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, and parts of Minnesota. The U.S. also acquired most of North and South Dakota, northeastern New Mexico, northern Texas, and chunks of Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado east of the Continental Divide. Jefferson’s purchase included Louisiana west of the Mississippi River and the city of New Orleans – the original goal of his modest request of France – as well as bits of future Canadian provinces Alberta and Saskatchewan. The tab came to about three cents an acre, or the equivalent of forty-two cents an acre today.

THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE

The Louisiana Territory gradually opened to settlement through a steady and growing westward flow of Americans from the crowded eastern seaboard. Along with their elected governments, these settlers brought their skills, commerce, and customs with them. The realities of an entrenched economic culture also traveled west. The United States' agrarian economy was largely slave-based. Shiploads of Africans had been literally kidnapped and brought to the U.S. packed into the holds of sailing ships to be sold in southern state markets like cattle and horses. And, like cattle, slaves were property to be traded, bought, sold, and worked without pay. While the Southern states controlled the slave market, Northern states benefitted from the low-cost labor of slaves who worked the Southern plantations – farms which provided profitable cotton and tobacco yields that were later shipped into Northern marketplaces and foreign markets.

The morality of the slave trade, its cruelty and oppression, was a harsh undercurrent in social, business, and religious circles in the growing United States. Pro- and antislavery factions were passionate and active in the federal government. The Constitution did not specifically mention the slave trade, and that sticking point had been cut from the final version to ensure passage by the Southern states. The Constitution, however, did guarantee the rights of all its citizens – just not the rights of all its "property."

Growing the country in this atmosphere of moral hypocrisy required that a delicate balance of slave and free states be maintained as new states were added. In 1820 the Missouri Territory sought statehood as did the northern tip of Massachusetts – an area which called itself "Maine." To maintain the balance, Missouri was admitted as a slave state and Maine as free in the outline of the Missouri Compromise Act. Part of this act also specified that slavery would be prohibited above Missouri's northern border – the 36° 30' latitude. That provision lasted thirty-four years.


FREE AND SLAVE AREAS
AFTER
THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE, 1820
STATES
FREE
SLAVE
TERRITORIES
FREE
SLAVE
Claimed by United States, Great Britain and Russia
LOUISIANA PURCHASE
NORTHWEST TERRITORY
SPANISH TERRITORY
Boundary, Spanish Treaty of 1819
Compromise line 36°30'
100 50 0 100 200 300 400 500 MILES

ABOVE: *The Missouri Compromise of 1820 shows the free and slave states maintaining a balance to avoid secession of Southern states to keep their slave economy.*

In 1854 Senator Stephen Douglas introduced a bill that resulted in the creation of the states of Kansas and Nebraska directly west

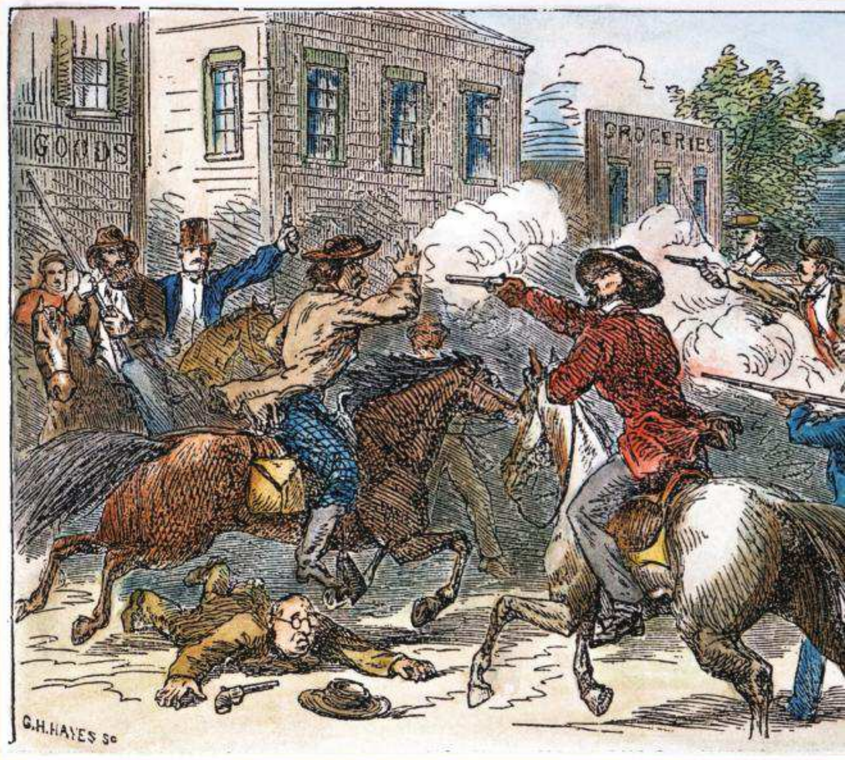
HOW A TERRITORY BECOMES ONE OR MORE STATES

An incorporated territory is a specific area over which the U.S. Constitution is applied to the territory's local government in the same manner as it applies to citizens and local governments that are part of the U.S. – an integral part rather than being "possessions." In the case of the Louisiana Territory the Supreme Court eventually ruled: "Owing to a new war between England and France being upon the point of breaking out, there was need for haste in the negotiations, and Mr. Livingston took the responsibility of disobeying his (Mr. Jefferson's) instructions, and, probably owing to the insistence of Bonaparte, consented to the 3d article of the treaty (with France to acquire the territory of Louisiana), which provided that 'the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution...This evidently committed the government to the ultimate, though not to the immediate, admission of Louisiana as a state." As borders to the individual states within the Louisiana Territory were surveyed and approved by the local governments, a petition was sent to Congress for admission to the United States. Congress passed an Enabling Act that authorized the people to draw up a constitution. Once ratified by the people's vote, this document was submitted to Congress. When approved by Congress, statehood legislation was sent on to the president for signature and issue of a formal proclamation.

Birth of the “Grand Old Party”

The GOP, or Republican Party, came into existence during the battle over the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. Its base was composed of Northern antislave supporters who wanted a stronger political voice in federal and state legislatures, and whose stated goal was both the emancipation of all slaves and nothing short of an end to that cruel institution. By 1858, they had won over members of the scattered Whig Party and the Free Soil Democrats.

Abraham Lincoln, the first Republican candidate for the presidency, won the 1860 election in a period when Southern states were beginning to secede from the Union. Lincoln led his party and the Union to victory in a bloody Civil War and the GOP went on to dominate American politics until the Great Depression and the 1932 election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

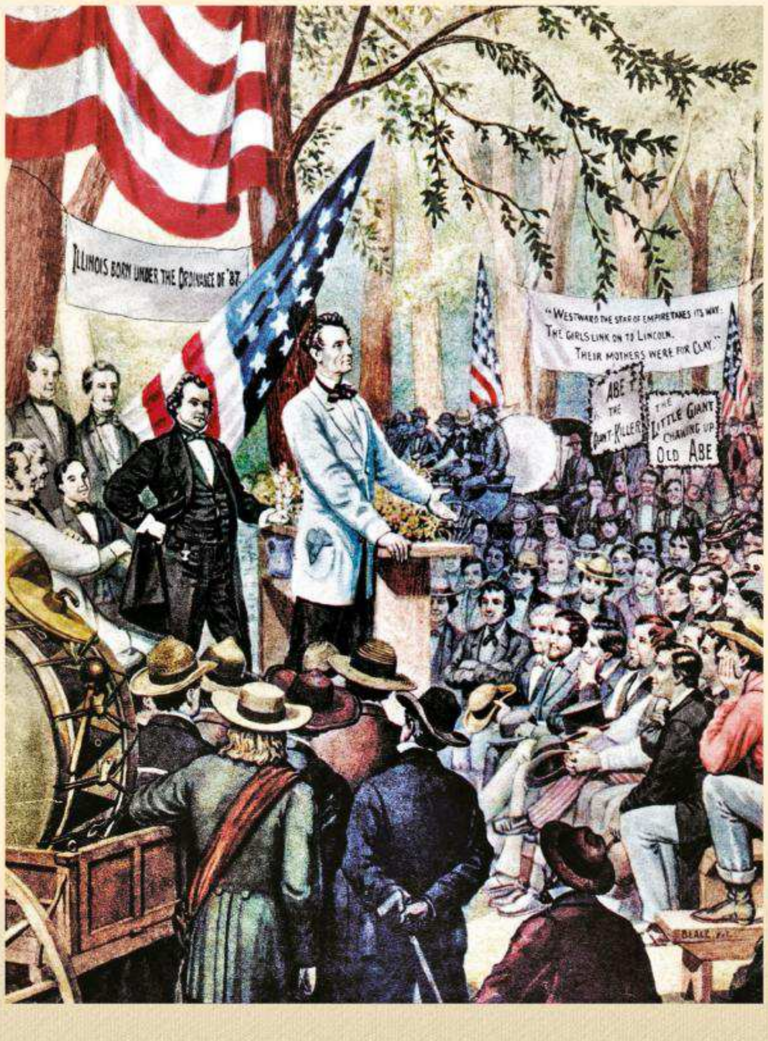


ABOVE: *“Bloody Kansas” earns its name with the sacking of “Free-Soil” capital Lawrence, Kansas, by pro-slavery raiders on May 21, 1856.*

of Missouri. Hewing to the states’ demands for sovereignty, he suggested the settlers of these two new states decide if they wanted to be slave or free. Antislave factions raged that self-determination invalidated the Missouri Compromise. Loud and vigorous debate followed in the federal legislature. Once again lacking constitutional guidelines to stand on, the compromise was successfully repealed by the Kansas-Nebraska Act. This trend went further when, in 1857, the Supreme Court ruled, in the Dred Scott vs. Sandford case, that Congress had no authority to prohibit slavery in the U.S. territories and declared the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional. Barring federal involvement or intervention, the remaining questions were attacked at the regional level: slave or free? After savage interstate guerrilla warfare between pro- and antislavery extremists, both Nebraska and Kansas joined the Union as free states.

Missouri, bordered by both free and slave states, was equally split. A constitutional convention voted, in a very close call, to remain a part of the Union. Generals, supplies, and troops flowed to both sides (approximately 110,000 state troops were committed to the Union army and about 40,000 to the Confederates) and the state was ravaged by bloody internecine warfare by so-called “Free-Staters” and “Border Ruffians.”

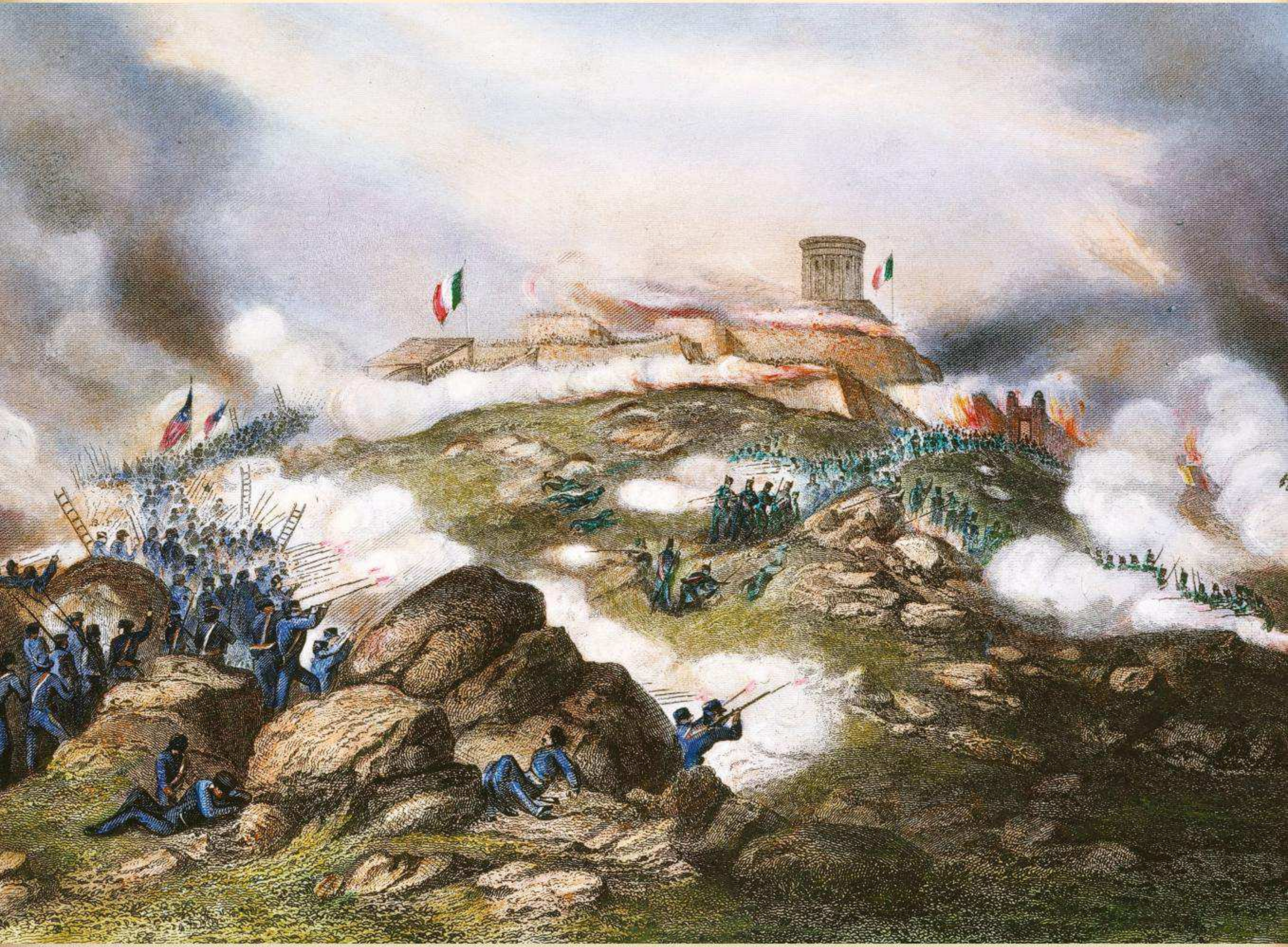
Such violent attempts to “balance” slave and free states while simultaneously seeking to dissolve the very institution of slavery itself eventually led to the Civil War of 1861-1865. This war and the deep rifts which brought it about threatened to mortally wound the Constitution and destroy the hard-won Union.


ILLINOIS BORN UNDER THE ORDINANCE OF '87.
"WESTWARD THE STAR OF EMPIRE TAKES ITS WAY. THE GIRLS LINK ON TO LINCOLN. THEIR MOTHERS WERE FOR CLAY."
ABE THE GIANT-KILLER
THE LITTLE GIANT CHAWING UP OLD ABE

LEFT: *One of the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858 that focused political attention on the emerging politician, “rail splitter” Abraham Lincoln, who lost this Senate election to Stephen Douglas.*

ACQUISITION BY CONQUEST

Even by presidential standards, James K. Polk was a go-getter. He made it perfectly clear when he ran for office in 1845 that, if elected, he would remain as president for exactly one term and then leave for home. And that's what he did. His four-year record as the United States' eleventh president won him respect as the strongest pre-Civil War chief executive. Having come up through Southern gentility as a slave owner and master of a cotton plantation, he married well and chose, as his mentor, the indomitable Andrew Jackson. So close and successful was his relationship with "Old Hickory" that he came to be known as "Young Hickory." A wide flock of candidates ran for president in the 1844 election, but when the dust settled only Polk remained as the "dark horse" who took the field. His first task was to get all the federal money back into the treasury from private banks.



THREE STAR-CROSSED GENERALS

The Mexican War (1846-1848) consisted of several short, sharp fights – brutal and bloody tests of courage on both sides. While the Mexican soldiers fought bravely, their officers and tactics were no match for the Americans. In almost every conflict the Mexicans outnumbered the American invaders who, despite heat and disease, always managed to maintain the offensive. General Santa Anna, who had presided over the massacre of Texans and volunteers at the Alamo in 1836, was up against America's finest young and veteran commanders.

At the battle of Cerro Gordo, Santa Anna was routed by Major General Winfield Scott with the help of a party of engineers led by Captain Robert E. Lee. Together they hacked a path through the jungle which ultimately surrounded the Mexicans. A second lieutenant of infantry (Ulysses S. Grant) distinguished himself in this fight, even though he was opposed to the seizing of another country's land. Another West Point graduate, James Longstreet, won numerous brevet (field) promotions for bravery in the Mexican War. In the 1850s, he rose to the rank of major on the western frontier.

These three young officers helped lead the way to victory for America in 1848. They would meet again in the coming Civil War, led by General Lee, commander of the Confederate Northern Army of Virginia, along with General Longstreet at his side. Both were equally bent on destroying the Constitution. They faced off against Lieutenant General U.S. Grant at the head of the Union army, whose dictate as northern commander was to defend the freedoms guaranteed by that document.

Next, his top priority was to expand the Union, setting his sights on what was then known as the Oregon Territory. Both Great Britain and the United States shared the spread of land that hugged the west coast and reached well up into the region of the 54th parallel. Polk whipped up Democratic members of Congress into a possessive fury, demanding "54-40' or Fight!" This bellicose posturing was a bluff and Great Britain was relieved when Polk "settled" for stopping the expansion at the 49th parallel – his original goal and today's border with Canada. That acquisition eventually included the states of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho, and parts of the states of Montana and Wyoming.

With Oregon in hand, he moved on the newly independent Texas (won from Mexico in 1836). It had been turned down for statehood repeatedly by Congress for fear of war with Mexico, but when Polk became president, the outgoing chief executive, John Tyler, tried, unsuccessfully, to annex the state. In a last grand attempt, Tyler suggested a "joint resolution" to finally bring Texas into the Union. A joint resolution is almost the same as a bill, and in the case of Texas it sped along the process – requiring only a simple majority vote in each house – rather than framing a joint treaty of annexation requiring a two-thirds acceptance by the Senate. Texas snapped up the offer.

With Texas in his pocket, Polk went back to a simmering Mexico to acquire northern California and New Mexico. Two succeeding Mexican governments had denied this purchase and Mexico City rejected Polk's offer out of hand. In 1845, Polk ordered General Zachary Taylor to bivouac 4,000 troops south of the Nueces River across from the city of Matamoros in claimed but contested Mexican territory. The president also sent John C. Frémont and a body of "engineers" armed to the teeth on a "scientific expedition" into California. When John Slidell, a Louisiana politician, arrived in Mexico to talk business, his reception was frosty. He reported to the Secretary of State, "Be assured, that nothing is to be done with these people until they have been chastised."

Polk decided to chastise the Mexicans to establish the Rio Grande River as the border between the two countries. On shaky constitutional ground, he demanded a declaration of war from Congress based on Mexico's failure to pay claims of U.S. citizens and for snubbing Slidell's diplomatic overtures. The same evening that his demand was walked over to Congress, an aggressive band of Mexican soldiers swept across the Rio Grande into an encampment and killed some American troops. Polk struck back like lightning, arousing Congress with the news that Mexico "had invaded our territory and shed American blood upon American soil." Unaware of Polk's behind-the-scenes maneuvering, Congress took the bait and, in 1846, cast off a declaration of war. Inflamed by the "invasion," thousands of American volunteers swelled the army's ranks and marched south.

As the war moved toward victory for the United States, antislave abolitionists and Whig politicians – notably a freshman Illinois senator, Abraham Lincoln – excoriated Polk and his slave-owning Democrats who were, the opposition claimed, "looking for bigger pens to cram with slaves." Eventually, the Mexican army's last stand at the fortress of Chapultepec collapsed and the war ended. It was 1848. The U.S. acquired California and New Mexico and the Mexican government received $15 million for their trouble. James K. Polk's blatant grab for land by diplomatic maneuvering and conquest pushed the United States much closer to a politically divided nation, an abandoned Constitution, and a civil war.

OPPOSITE: *U.S. Army storming Mexican troops entrenched in the Chapultapec Palace on September 13, 1847. This concluding battle decided U.S. victory in the Mexican War.*

THE HOMESTEAD ACT

The Homestead Act of 1862 (granting acreage of federal lands to resident applicants) was nothing new. The practice of redistributing land to a growing population of small farmers dated back to 1787. In this case, however, timing was everything. Since the 1850s, slavery issues were heating up, and Southern congressmen saw government land distribution into the growing West as a threat to their slave-based agricultural economy. In 1858, the South rallied to defeat a proposed Northern, Republican-driven homestead bill by one vote, and in 1859, President James Buchanan killed a version of the Homestead Act with a veto, even though it had passed in both houses.

The secession of the Southern states during the 1861-1865 Civil War handily eliminated this opposition and, with Abraham Lincoln's blessing, the Homestead Act passed into law on May 20, 1862. Under this act, farmers, laborers, and/or herders could sign up for a parcel of 160 acres of surveyed public land. Claimants were required to improve the plot by cultivating the acreage and building a dwelling upon it. After five years on the land, the original filer was entitled, for the price of a small registration fee, to own the property, free and clear. At the conclusion of the Civil War, Union soldiers could claim their 160 acres of land and deduct their time in service from the residency requirements. Those who were willing to pay $1.25 an acre could own their land in only six months.

To offer the widest possible opportunity to the flood of foreign immigrants pouring through the eastern seaboard and southern ports of entry who were filling wagons and heading west, the act further stipulated that "any adult citizen or intended citizen could claim 160 acres of surveyed government land."

By the end of the Civil War, 15,000 land claims were filed. Hard cash, however, was rare among the settlers and not many were able to "prove up" on their property, buy seed and tools, or cultivate the land. Herders who demanded free range for their cattle discouraged small farm holdings from fencing their fields, and outbursts of violence between neighbors was not uncommon. The act was also badly drawn, permitting speculators and "straw purchasers" to buy

BELOW: *The transcontinental railroad was completed when the Union Pacific met the Central Pacific near Promontory Point, Utah, on May 10, 1869. A golden spike joined the final rails.*

up contiguous parcels and turn them over to miners, lumbermen, cattle companies, and the railroads once the transcontinental railroad was approved under the Pacific Railway Act passed on July 1, 1862. Selling land along the tracery of railroads that spanned the continent made many millionaires. Many of the tracts could be resold when they proved to be unfriendly to cultivation. The General Land Office dispersed some 500 million acres between 1862 and 1904, but only eighty million were claimed, proved up, and held by homesteaders. Those claims continued into the 20th Century, but most of the small family holdings of the 1930s and 1940s were converted to larger, company-operated farms to profitably feed a growing nation.

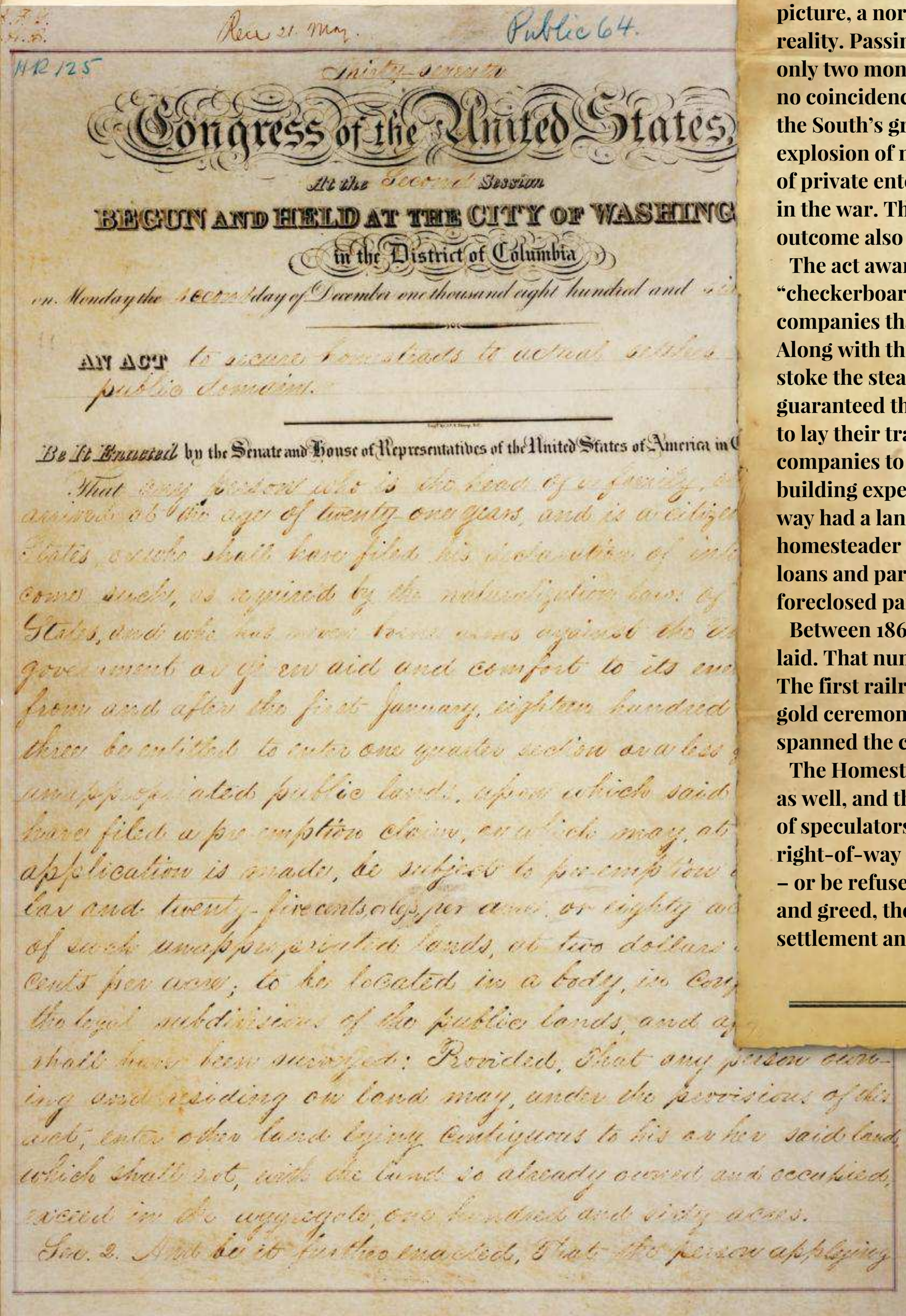
RAILROADS: KEY TO EXPANSION OF THE WEST

The Pacific Railway Act floated through Congress in 1862 on palms greased with land speculators' cash as the Civil War reached its most dangerous year. The South had achieved several victories, leaving the Union army stalled and European powers preparing to aid the Confederacy. With a southern route across the continent out of the picture, a northern route favorable to the Union became a reality. Passing this act through the Republican Congress only two months after passage of the Homestead Act was no coincidence. The two acts were conjoined to undermine the South's grip on the agrarian economy and to allow an explosion of northern capital to flow west on the shoulders of private enterprise while government dollars were tied up in the war. This show of Union confidence in the ultimate outcome also helped slow Europe's Confederate ambitions.

The act awarded twenty alternating sections – "checkerboards" – for each mile of track laid to rail companies that sprouted up from consortiums of investors. Along with the land went mineral rights, including coal to stoke the steam engines' fireboxes. These federal grants guaranteed the railroads unencumbered land on which to lay their track as well as plots saleable by the railroad companies to individual settlers for cash to offset railroad building expenses. Every tent city along the right-of-way had a land office peddling property to greenhorn homesteader families. Local banks offered high-interest loans and partnered with the land offices, reselling foreclosed parcels for profits.

Between 1862 and 1871, about 45,000 miles of track were laid. That number jumped to 170,000 from 1871 to 1900. The first railroad was completed on May 10, 1869, and a gold ceremonial spike joined the rails. Four more railroads spanned the continent by 1900.

The Homestead Act of 1862 was vulnerable to fraud as well, and the Pacific Railway Act favored large companies of speculators, leaving smaller companies to purchase track right-of-way from individual landowners for high prices – or be refused land use for trackage. Despite this venality and greed, the act worked. The railroads opened the West to settlement and greatly expanded the American economy.



Rec 21 May. Public 64.
HR 125
Thirty-seventh
Congress of the United States,
At the Second Session
BEGUN AND HELD AT THE CITY OF WASHING
in the District of Columbia
on Monday the second day of December one thousand eight hundred and

AN ACT to secure homesteads to actual settlers
public domain.

Be It Enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in C
That any person who is the head of a family, o
arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and is a citize
States, or who shall have filed his declaration of inte
come such, as required by the naturalization laws of
States, and who has never borne arms against the U
government or given aid and comfort to its ene
from and after the first January, eighteen hundred
three be entitled to enter one quarter section or a less
unappropriated public lands, upon which said
have filed a pre-emption claim, or which may, at
application is made, be subject to pre-emption a
lar and twenty-five cents, or less, per acre, or eighty ac
of such unappropriated lands, at two dollars
cents per acre; to be located in a body, in con
the legal subdivisions of the public lands, and a
shall have been surveyed: Provided, That any person own-
ing and residing on land may, under the provisions of this
act, enter other land lying contiguous to his or her said land,
which shall not, with the land so already owned and occupied,
exceed in the aggregate, one hundred and sixty acres.
Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That the person applying

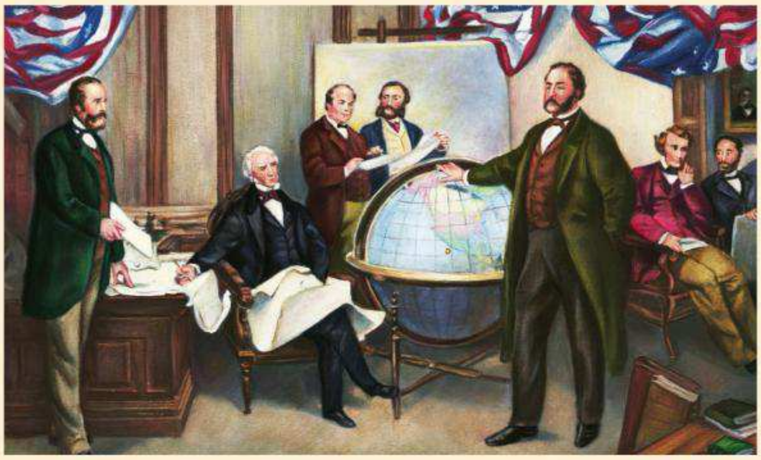
LEFT: *The Homestead Act offered land to citizens and immigrants alike to complement the western expansion on May 20, 1862. These grants were key to the completion of the transcontinental railroad.*

THE POLAR BEAR GARDEN

It might have appeared as if the United States in the 19th Century possessed sacks of mad money while European superpowers were merely looking, by comparison, to clean out their front closets of dust. First, Napoleon unloaded a vast slab of "unproductive" land – called Louisiana – to finance a war and then the Russians began shopping an equally huge plot of ice, snow, and woods to shore up their treasury. They called this large, forbidding, and unforgiving land "Alyeska."

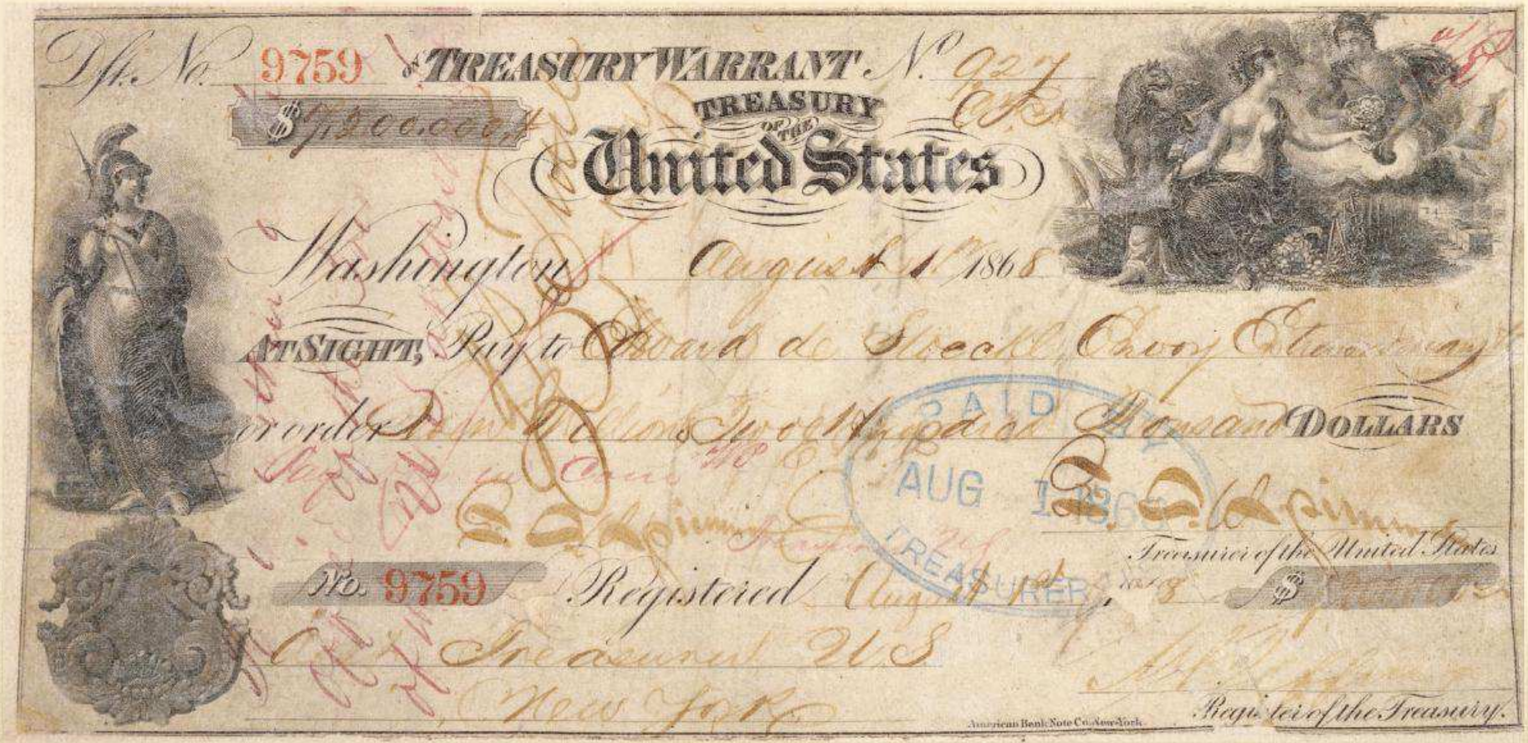
The Russians had claimed the 600,000-square-mile landmass in the early 18th Century following explorations by Captain Commander Vitus Jonassen Bering to determine if Russia and the North American continent were connected by a land bridge. No bridge was found, but they did discover the far northern coastline that ended at North America's Point Barrow. Bering died from scurvy, but his men landed on an island, where they survived eating whale blubber and sea otters who in turn had been nourished by seaweed, which then cured the men's scurvy. From that time, Russia maintained a presence in Alyeska, fur trapping and fishing. During President James Buchanan's administration, they offered this frozen corner of the continent to the United States, but the Civil War was heating up and the deal captured little interest.

Following the war, the Russian minister to the U.S., Eduard de Stoeckl, offered the deal in 1866 to Secretary of State William H. Seward at two cents an acre, or $7.2 million. Where Seward saw a bargain, Congress and much of the general public burst over "Seward's Folly." Convincing skeptical politicians and the press was a huge challenge.



ABOVE: *Signing the Alaska Treaty of Cessation are (left to right) Robert S. Chew (chief clerk), William H. Seward (Secretary of State), William Hunter (second assistant Secretary of State), Mr. Bodisco, Russian ambassador Baron Eduard de Stoeckl, Charles Sumner (senator), and Fredrick W. Seward (assistant Secretary of State).*

Massachusetts senator Charles Sumner, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, was behind the purchase. During a three-hour speech, he argued that the colony, previously known as "Russian



Dft. No. 9759 TREASURY WARRANT No. 927

$7,200,000

TREASURY OF THE United States

Washington August 1st 1868

AT SIGHT, Pay to Edward de Stoeckl, Envoy Extraordinary

or order Seven Millions Two Hundred Thousand DOLLARS

PAID AUG 1 1868 TREASURER

Treasurer of the United States

No. 9759 Registered Aug 1868 $

Treasurer U.S.

New York

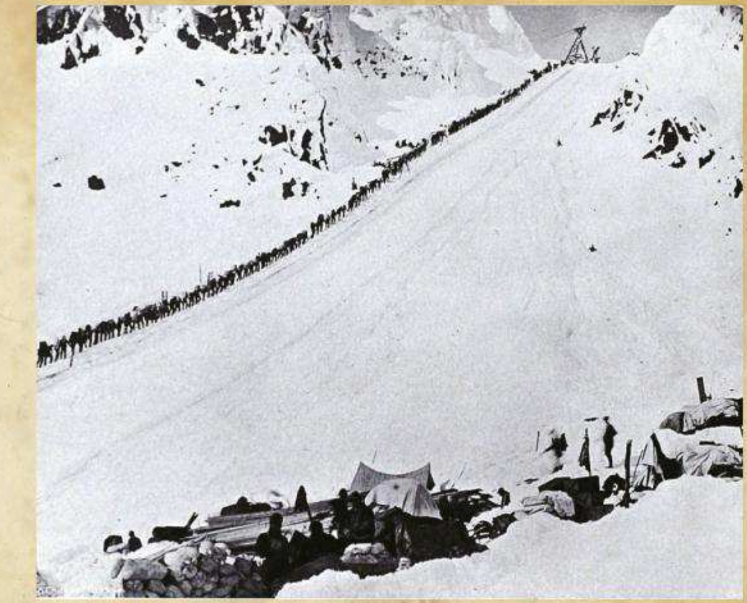
Register of the Treasury.

American Bank Note Co. New-York

GOLD FEVER GROWS ALASKA

Just four years after the purchase of the Alaska Territory, gold was discovered near Sitka in 1872. Another strike came in 1876 near Windham Bay, and the big bonanza of 1880 brought hordes of prospectors into Juneau. A pair of prospectors, guided by a local Native American, found two "large pieces of quartz, black sulfite and galena all spangled over with gold." Their find in what became known as "Gold Creek" was just the first of the thousand pounds of ore they recovered in that initial dig. The miner, Joseph Juneau, gave his name to the town that emerged nearby, and his partner Richard Harris named the area the Harris Mining District.

Gold-seekers flocked to Alaska's Klondike, and strikes near Nome in the 1890s. By steamship to Skagway and Valdez, fortune-hunters began a long trek on foot with pack mules up the Chilkoot Trail to Chilkoot Pass. More starved and died on the trail than struck it rich. Then, in 1898, a strike at Anvil Creek brought thousands more prospectors to Nome—all the way to the beaches where the shoreline was littered with sluice boxes used to strain water and sand to find nuggets.

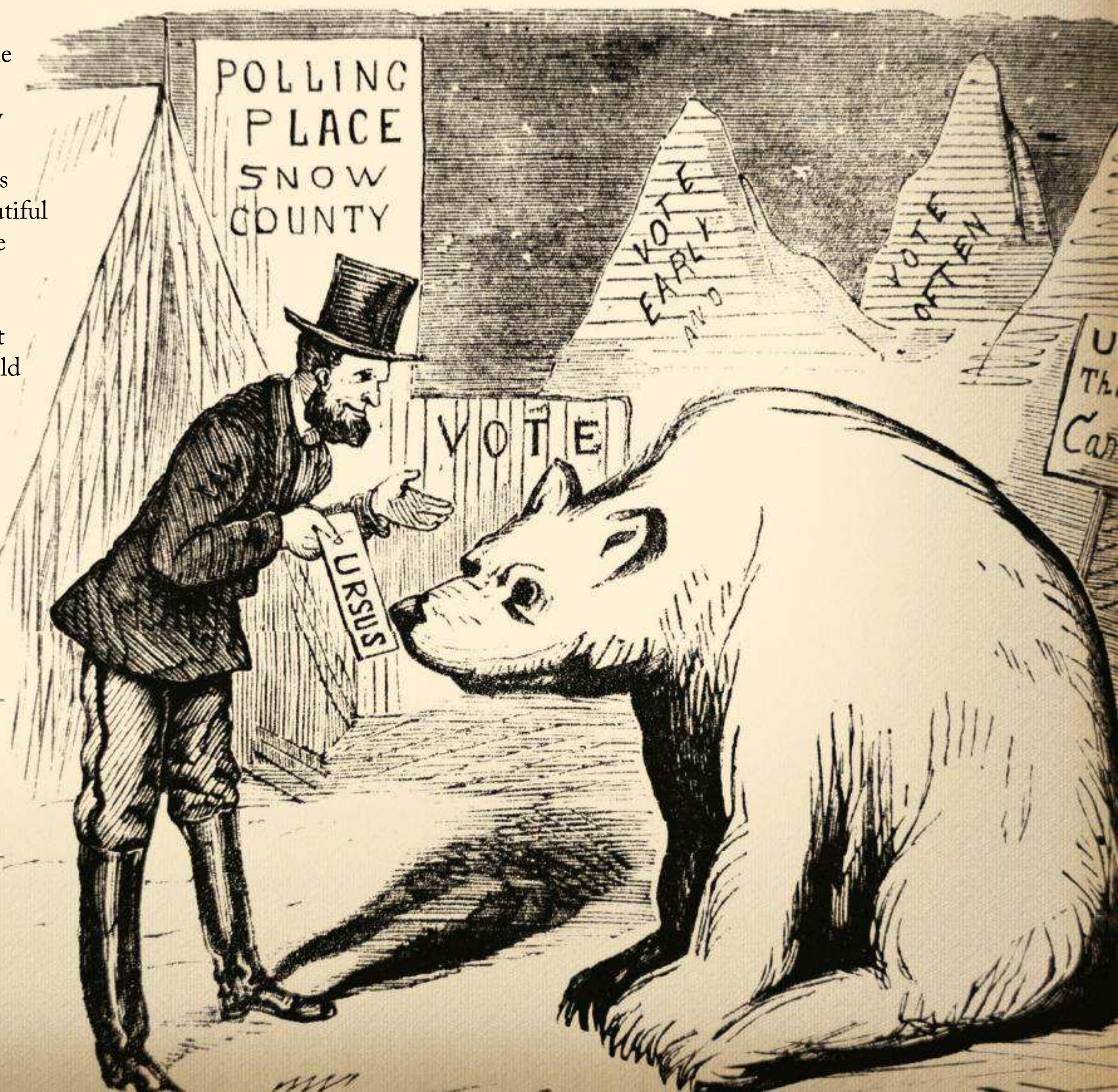


ABOVE: The long line of prospectors in the 1890s climbing the Chilkoot Trail toward Chilkoot Pass to enter Alaska and hunt for gold washing down from the mountains into streams and canyons during one of the many gold rushes.

America," should have a republican form of government and its name should come from the land itself. The Aleut Eskimos who lived there called it "Alaska" (mainland). He said, "Bestow such a government, and you will give what is better than all you can receive, whether quintals of fish, sands of gold, choicest fur or most beautiful ivory," and, eventually, the Senate approved the treaty by a 37-2 vote on April 9, 1867.

Paying Russia the money presented another challenge. The House of Representatives didn't like anything about President Johnson (he would face impeachment proceedings), and Seward was regarded as Johnson's man, tarred with the same brush. Nonetheless, a year later, on July 14, 1868, the House finally approved the appropriation and the United States took possession of the Territory of Alaska. President Dwight Eisenhower admitted Alaska into the Union on January 3, 1959, as the forty-ninth state.

OPPOSITE: *The check made out to Russia for $7.2 million for the purchase of Alaska on March 30, 1867, the result of a difficult uphill struggle with Congress, which disparaged the frozen wasteland.*



RIGHT: *Cartoon showing a politician searching for voters in uninhabited Alaska, finding nobody home but the polar bears.*

THE NASA ACT

In the modern era, "growing the country" takes on a new meaning. The last time the flag of the United States was unfurled over an unexplored landscape and saluted by representatives of the government was July 20, 1969.

Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin spent about eight total hours on the moon, not to claim it as a possession but to announce that humankind had made their first explorer's steps into space beyond Earth. At the conclusion of their walk on the surface, they returned to their space vehicle, piloted by Michael Collins, and navigated back to their home planet. This was the first major act of the United States' space program, spreading the work and concepts of the world's best and brightest back into the cosmos from which we first came.

In 1958, President Dwight D. Eisenhower established the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) in the signing of the Nationanal Aeronautics and Space Act. If "growth" is considered a geographic expansion of borders, or an extension of a people's culture into another dominion, then NASA has given us as a species the ability to reach beyond our planet, sending our people to our nearest organic satellite and beyond, through the creation of electronic surrogates.

NASA, as facilitated through our constitutional process, has also provided a model for our global community to share in the explorations, pooling resources as we reach past our physical limits to create artificial orbiting worlds like SkyLab, where we work in the vacuum of space.

Explorer spacecraft such as the nuclear-powered Voyager probes have extended our powers of curiosity far beyond the boundaries of our own solar system, each armed with hints about our values, cultures, and the extent of our grasp of science and mathematics. Each is like the sailing ships that cast off from ports in Italy, Greece, Norway, and the Pacific islands carrying great dreams and big expectations.

NASA's discoveries reach across limitless space through the lenses of the orbiting Hubble Telescope. They allow our robotic rovers to crisscross the surface of Mars, sampling, drilling, and sending back clues that inform us about our own future. Not unlike the ships that returned to Europe from Far East ports, carrying unfamiliar spices, new species of mammals and birds, leaves of tobacco, stalks of sugarcane, gold, scents, and lapis lazuli, surrogate instrumentation draws macro and micro images of distant worlds.

LEFT: *NASA's space shuttle program spanned thirty years from 1981 to 2011. In total the shuttle fleet flew on 135 missions.*

OPPOSITE: *Astronaut Edwin E. "Buzz" Aldrin Jr. standing on the lunar surface after arriving on the Apollo 11 spacecraft following an eight-day flight from Earth. He and Neil Armstrong spent two and a half hours on the Moon and planted the U.S. flag before returning.*

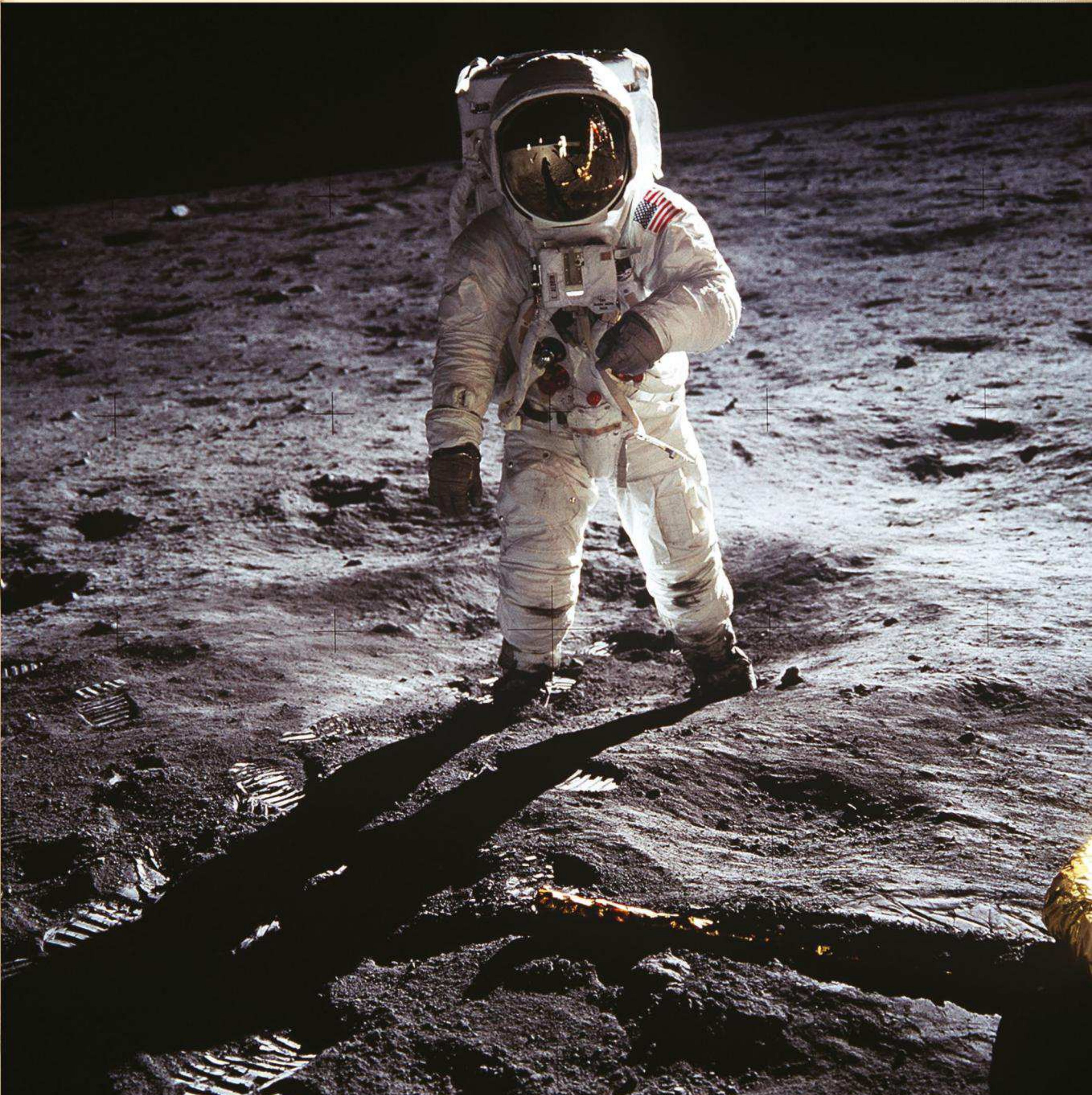
NASA Visits the Circus

Following the creation of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration by the NASA Act, an open competition was initiated to pick the nation's first astronauts to explore space. Much scientific and psychoanalytical work was done to narrow down the supposed requirements for working and traveling in a space environment. Mice, dogs, and apes were tested, but the effect of an airless, gravity-free environment subject to high-speed entry and claustrophobic living conditions for long periods of time offered many challenges requiring human reactions.

Circus performers who were fired from a cannon or whirled on a trapeze were considered along with deep-sea divers, long-distance swimmers, parachutists, acrobats, and race-car drivers. Finally, President Dwight D. Eisenhower decided the one profession that covered the most situations was the military test pilot. It was 1959, however, and all women were excluded from consideration.

The first U.S. spacecraft, the cramped Mercury capsule, allowed a person no taller than five feet, eleven inches and weighing no more than 180 pounds. The candidate had to be no older than forty years, have at least a bachelor's degree, 1,500 hours of flying time, and be fully qualified to fly jet-fighter aircraft.

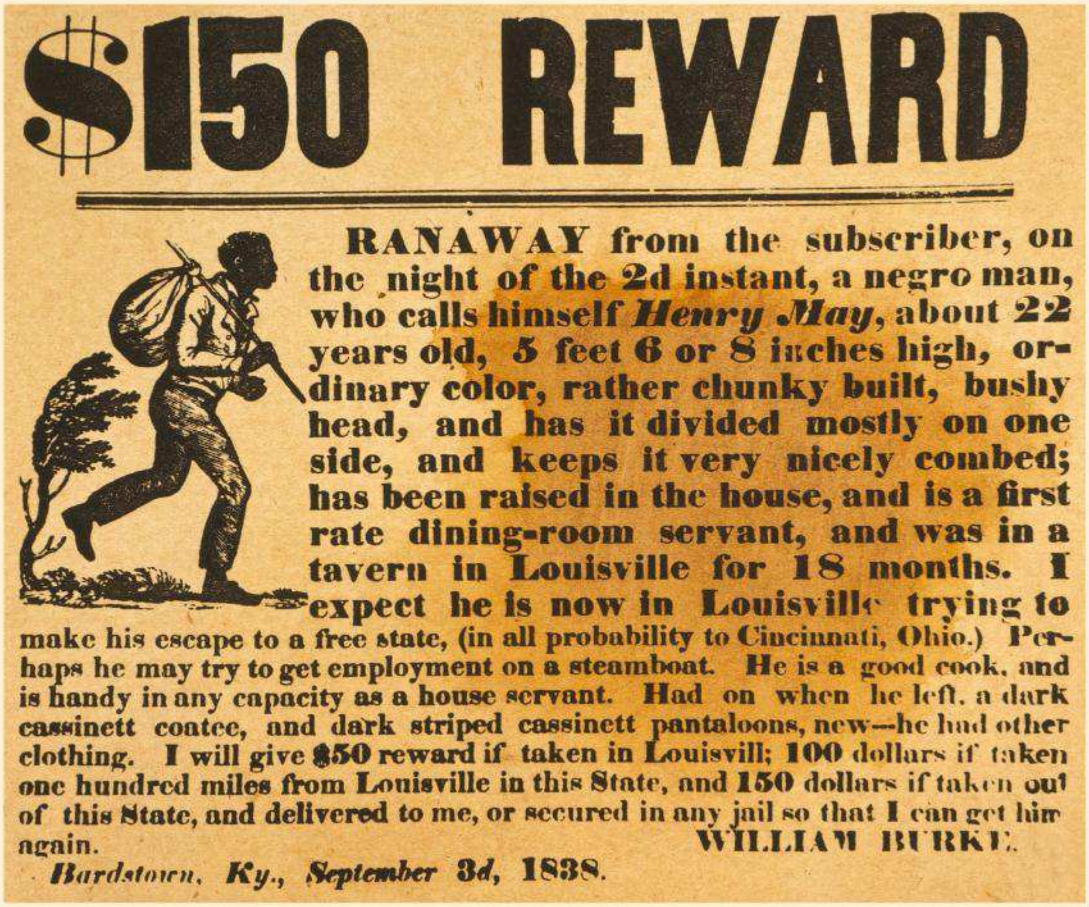
More than 500 applications were received and whittled down to sixty-nine candidates. They spent time on treadmills, tilt-tables, centrifuges, and submerged in ice water. They downed doses of castor oil, and endured enemas and constant blood tests in addition to extensive IQ exams. Of the sixty-nine just seven were chosen, all perfect physical specimens with genius-level IQs.



OUR CONSTITUTION DIVIDED

Of all the threats to the United States of America, the Civil War came the closest to permanently dividing the country into two sovereign nations. The conflict that began with the shelling of Fort Sumter off the coast of South Carolina in 1861 had been simmering since the ratification of the Constitution in 1789.

The cause was both a moral/cultural divide involving the institution of slavery and an economic one based on agrarian states' rights against industrialized federalism. Slavery was the labor support base of the Southern states. The status quo yielded high revenue for all concerned – except, of course, the slaves themselves. They received no wages, formal education, or citizen's rights; were considered property like horses or cattle; and were subject to severe punishment should they attempt to flee from their owners. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 condoned this treatment of runaways. After decades of abolitionist free-state advocates damning the slaveholding southerners, the election of "Free-Stater" Abraham Lincoln to the presidency in 1860 virtually guaranteed the secession of the slave states from the Union and the creation of the Confederate States of America. South Carolina was the first state to formally leave the Union. Their statement declaring secession was typical of those that had ratified the Confederate states' constitution. They claimed:



$150 REWARD

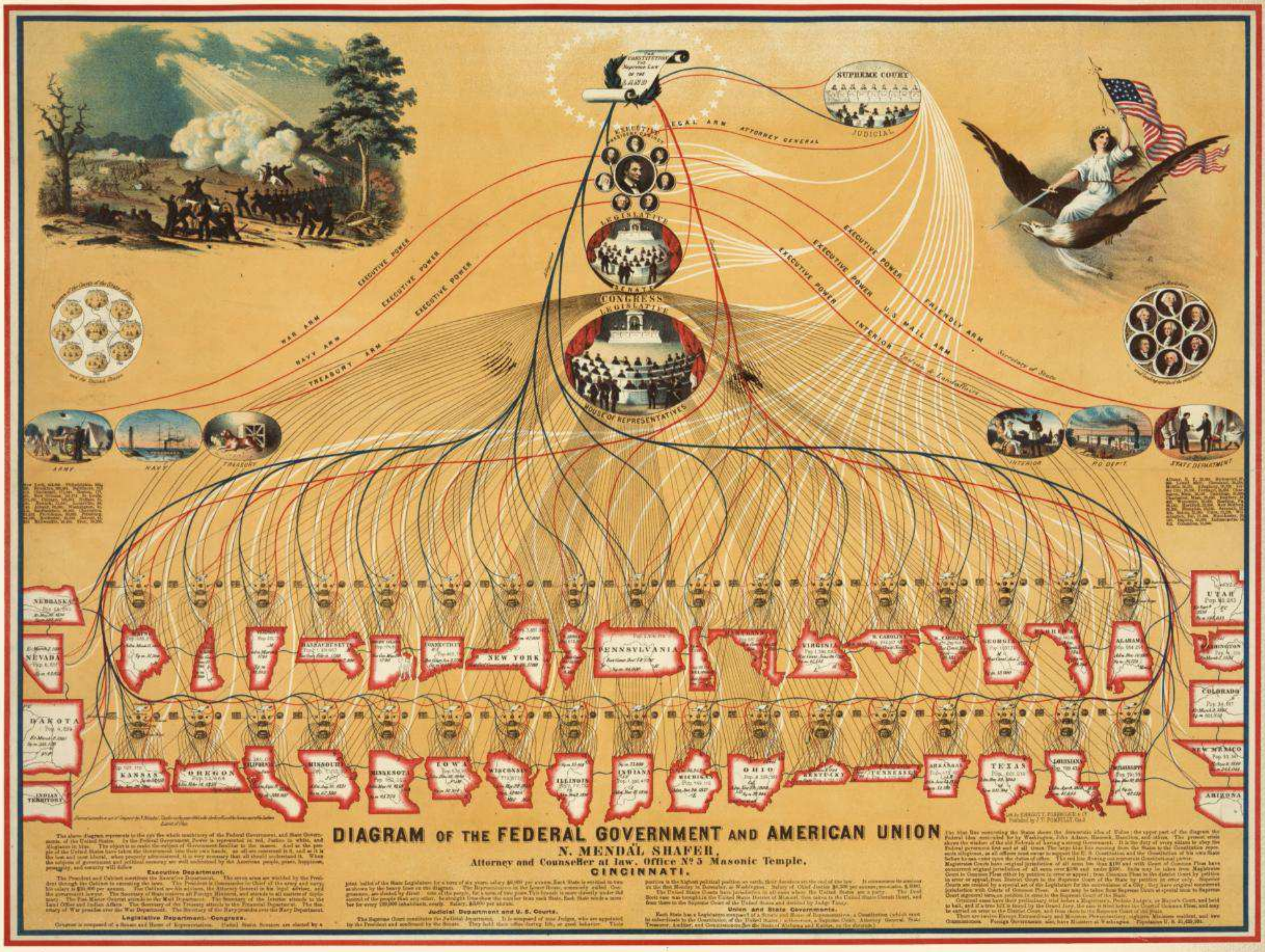
RANAWAY from the subscriber, on the night of the 2d instant, a negro man, who calls himself *Henry May*, about 22 years old, 5 feet 6 or 8 inches high, ordinary color, rather chunky built, bushy head, and has it divided mostly on one side, and keeps it very nicely combed; has been raised in the house, and is a first rate dining-room servant, and was in a tavern in Louisville for 18 months. I expect he is now in Louisville trying to make his escape to a free state, (in all probability to Cincinnati, Ohio.) Perhaps he may try to get employment on a steamboat. He is a good cook, and is handy in any capacity as a house servant. Had on when he left, a dark cassinett coatee, and dark striped cassinett pantaloons, new—he had other clothing. I will give $50 reward if taken in Louisvill; 100 dollars if taken one hundred miles from Louisville in this State, and 150 dollars if taken out of this State, and delivered to me, or secured in any jail so that I can get him again.

WILLIAM BURKE.

Bardstown, Ky., September 3d, 1838.

ABOVE: *An 1838 newspaper advertisement offering a reward for a runaway slave, Henry May. In free states, former slaves had to carry their freedom papers at all times for inspection.*

> The ends for which the Constitution was framed are declared by itself to be "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."
>
> These ends it endeavored to accomplish by a Federal Government, in which each State was recognized as an equal, and had separate control over its own institutions. The right of property in slaves was recognized by giving to free persons distinct political rights, by giving them the right to represent, and burthening them with direct taxes for three-fifths of their slaves; by authorizing the importation of slaves for twenty years; and by stipulating for the rendition of fugitives from labor.
>
> We affirm that these ends for which this Government was instituted have been defeated, and the Government itself has been made destructive of them by the action of the non-slaveholding States. Those States have assumed the right of deciding upon the propriety of our domestic institutions; and have denied the rights of property established in fifteen of the States and recognized by the Constitution; they have denounced as sinful the institution of slavery; they have permitted open establishment among them of societies, whose avowed object is to disturb the peace and to eloign [to take beyond the jurisdiction of a law court] the property of the citizens of other States. They have encouraged and assisted thousands of our slaves to leave their homes; and those who remain, have been incited by emissaries, books and pictures to servile insurrection.


SUPREME COURT
JUDICIAL
LEGAL ARM
ATTORNEY GENERAL
EXECUTIVE
LEGISLATIVE
SENATE
CONGRESS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WAR ARM
NAVY ARM
TREASURY ARM
EXECUTIVE POWER
EXECUTIVE POWER
EXECUTIVE POWER
EXECUTIVE POWER
EXECUTIVE POWER
FRIENDLY ARM
U.S. MAIL ARM
INTERIOR
ARMY
NAVY
TREASURY
INTERIOR
P.O. DEP'T
STATE DEPARTMENT
NEBRASKA
NEVADA
DAKOTA
INDIAN TERRITORY
NEW YORK
PENNSYLVANIA
VIRGINIA
GEORGIA
ALABAMA
KANSAS
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
MISSOURI
MINNESOTA
IOWA
WISCONSIN
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
MICHIGAN
OHIO
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
ARKANSAS
TEXAS
LOUISIANA
MISSISSIPPI
UTAH
WASHINGTON
COLORADO
NEW MEXICO
ARIZONA
DIAGRAM OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND AMERICAN UNION
N. MENDAL SHAFER,
Attorney and Counsellor at law. Office No 5 Masonic Temple,
CINCINNATI.

> For twenty-five years this agitation has been steadily increasing, until it has now secured to its aid the power of the common Government. Observing the forms of the Constitution, a sectional party has found within that Article establishing the Executive Department, the means of subverting the Constitution itself.

The "Article" referred to in this declaration was the Fourth Article, which states:

> No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due…. (Northern free-states) have enacted laws which either nullify the Acts of Congress or render useless any attempt to execute them. In many of these States the fugitive is discharged from service or labor claimed, and in none of them has the State Government complied with the stipulation made in the Constitution.

Using this and other provocations, the Confederate States drew up their own constitution; it copied much of the original document with the exception of inclusions such as:

> Section 2, Article 3, State Citizens—extradition
> 3. No slave or other person held to service or labor in any State or Territory of the Confederate States, under the laws thereof, escaping or lawfully carried into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such slave belongs; or to whom such service or labor may be due.

The new Constitution allowed the Confederate States to acquire new territory in North America and go on to defend that territory's right to own slaves if challenged. The Confederate States of America

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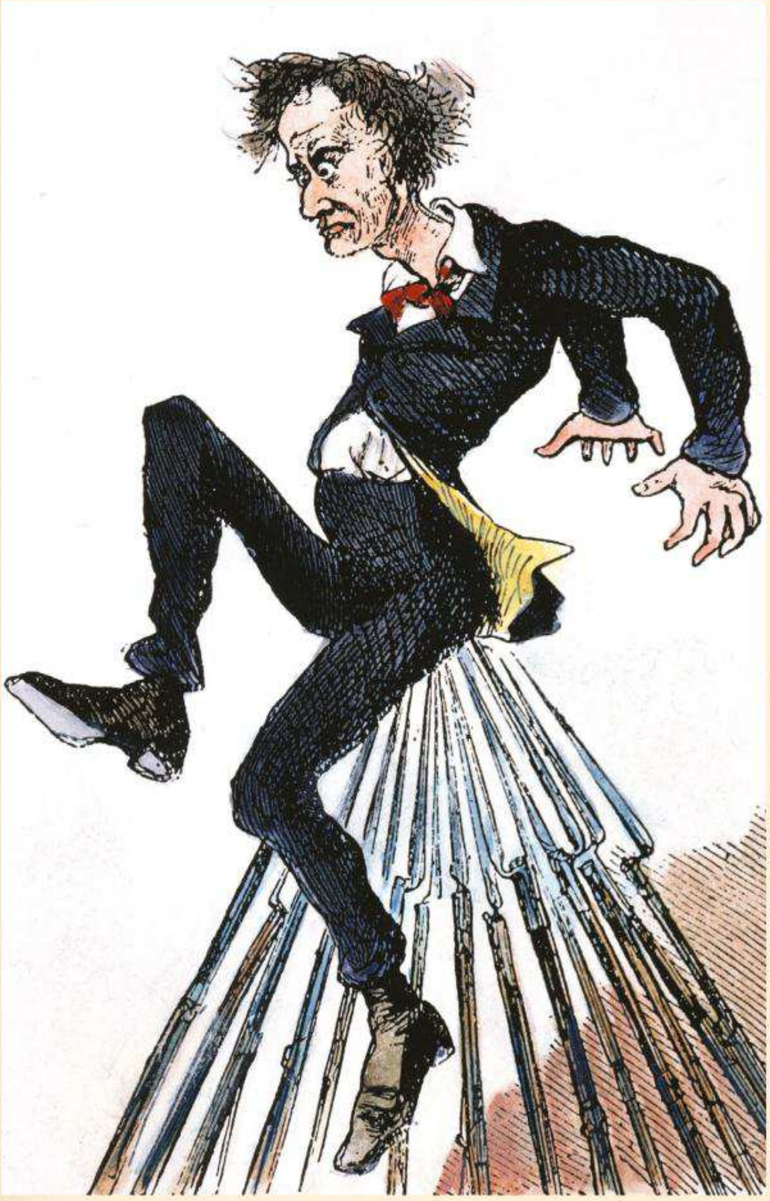
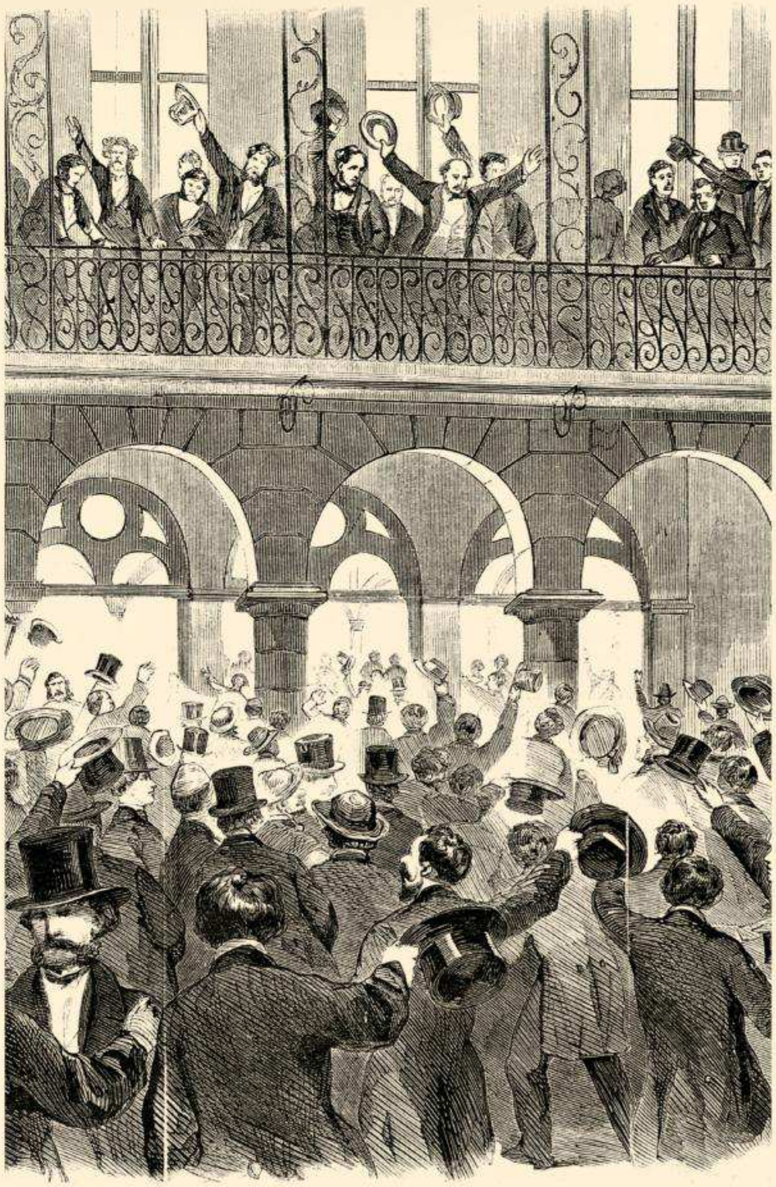
ABOVE: *Elaborate illustrated diagram of the U.S. government in the 1860s showing the three branches of federal power and the individual state legislatures.*

BELOW: *"Old Abe's Uncomfortable Position." An American cartoon drawn in 1860 depicting President-elect – and still beardless – Lincoln's discomfort at the idea of using military force to preserve the Union.*





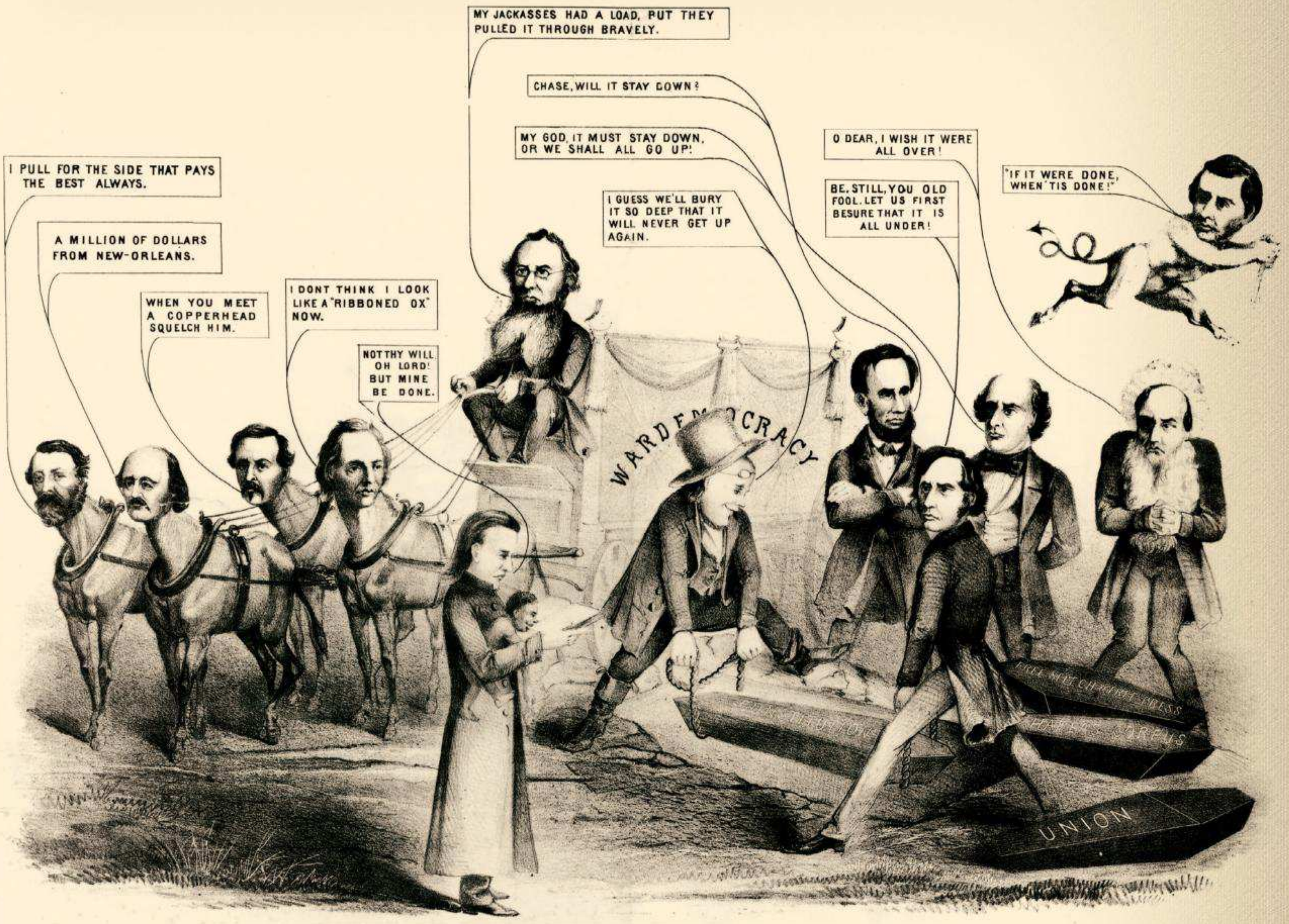
ABOVE: *Mills House on Meeting Street in Charleston, where South Carolina decided to be the first state to secede from the Union in 1860.*

accepted Lincoln's bait when he chose to resupply Fort Sumter instead of evacuate the troops. Confederate artillery fired on the offshore Union possession, thereby becoming the aggressor. The Union made strides to defend itself, but was sadly unprepared. President Lincoln called up the loyal free-state militias to federal duty under the Constitutional Act of 1795, which permitted:

> ...whenever the United States shall be invaded, or be in imminent danger of invasion from any foreign nation or Indian tribe... the laws of the United States shall be opposed or the execution thereof obstructed, in any state, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by this act.

There was also the matter of geography. Washington, D.C., the Union capital, bordered Virginia – a slave state – and Maryland, which teetered between free and slave loyalty. Riot and rampage threatened in Baltimore, Maryland's capital. To secure Maryland in the Union, Lincoln signed an executive order dissolving the writ of habeas corpus. This Latin term means "you have the body" and points to the right of any prisoner to challenge the terms of his or her imprisonment. Lincoln's opponents argued his action was unconstitutional, and the Supreme Court agreed that Congress alone could suspend the writ. The court avoided mentioning the context of the suspension – national emergency. Two years later in March 1863, Congress would pass the Habeas Corpus Act, endorsing Lincoln's bold stroke. Following Lincoln's lead, in 1862 Secretary of War Edward Stanton also suspended the writ of habeas corpus when the first draft of troops was ordered. Anyone protesting or interfering with the draft measures was jailed on the spot.

The year 1862 was the pivotal turning point of the war. Having faced defeats and humiliations at the hands of inept military leaders and name-calling by both political rivals and the press, Lincoln had to


I PULL FOR THE SIDE THAT PAYS THE BEST ALWAYS.
A MILLION OF DOLLARS FROM NEW-ORLEANS.
WHEN YOU MEET A COPPERHEAD SQUELCH HIM.
I DONT THINK I LOOK LIKE A "RIBBONED OX" NOW.
NOT THY WILL OH LORD! BUT MINE BE DONE.
MY JACKASSES HAD A LOAD, PUT THEY PULLED IT THROUGH BRAVELY.
CHASE, WILL IT STAY DOWN?
MY GOD, IT MUST STAY DOWN, OR WE SHALL ALL GO UP!
I GUESS WE'LL BURY IT SO DEEP THAT IT WILL NEVER GET UP AGAIN.
O DEAR, I WISH IT WERE ALL OVER!
BE. STILL, YOU OLD FOOL. LET US FIRST BESURE THAT IT IS ALL UNDER!
"IF IT WERE DONE, WHEN 'TIS DONE!"
WARDEMOCRACY
CONSTITUTION
FREE SPEECH FREE PRESS
HABEAS CORPUS
UNION

face the core slavery issue and the fear of foreign intervention. Lord Henry John Temple Palmerston, the British prime minister, stated publicly, "It is the highest degree likely that the North will not be able to subdue the South." This was the common opinion among the European powers. In Liverpool, the British were building armored rams for the Confederate navy. Crates of rifles and cannons aboard English ships braved Lincoln's blockade of Southern ports. European nobility shrugged at a jumped-up, backwoods Kentucky farmer trying to lead a country at war with itself.

But while the ink was still damp on the United States Constitution, slavery hung like a shadow over the new country. Now blood was being spilled in its name. Unable to untangle a conflicted Congress, Lincoln searched for any way he could initiate the end of this inhumane institution. He drew from the writings of legal scholar William Whiting (author of the Constitution's Preamble), allowing the president to take all necessary steps to save the country – including the bypassing of state slavery laws. Slave masters had broken up the Union, overthrown justice, and destroyed domestic tranquility.

Taking away their slaves was a justifiable act of war. Lincoln embraced this concept, but the timing was critical. General George McClellan's "case of the slows" had allowed the rebel Army of Northern Virginia to dominate the battlefield. Emancipating the slaves at this time would signal weakness to the Confederates and European powers. After a great deal of prodding, McClellan finally made a move against General Robert E. Lee at Sharpsburg, Maryland, near Antietam Creek on September 17, 1862. What followed was the bloodiest single day in American history. The two armies crashed together, battling across fields, roads, and what came to be called "Burnside Bridge" after the Union general who sacrificed his army trying to cross it against enfilading rebel fire. Both armies were savaged. The bodies of 23,000 soldiers littered the battlefield. Lee managed to retrieve his broken army while McClellan failed to follow up with his larger force. Telegraph messages back to Washington announced Lee's retreat and the Union holding its ground. For Lincoln, this virtual draw was the "victory" he needed.

ABOVE: *"The Grave of the Union, or Major Jack Downing's Dream", an 1864 cartoon that depicts the burying of the United States Constitution, habeas corpus, speech and press freedoms, and the Union by the Lincoln administration, its supporters in Congress, journalist Horace Greeley (center), and clergyman Henry Ward Beecher.*

THE THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT

On September 22, 1862, Lincoln signed a preliminary Emancipation Proclamation with the final version signed on January 1, 1863, which declared, "…all persons held as slaves … shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free" – but it applied only to states designated as being in rebellion, not to the loyal slave-holding border states of Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri or to areas of the Confederacy that had already come under Union control. This executive order, permitted by the Constitution in time of war, also allowed freed slaves to enlist in the Union army, swelling its ranks by 20,000 volunteers. When word of the proclamation reached Prime Minister Lord Palmerston, he reversed his earlier opinion on the Union's chances of winning, as did the British public, even as they were starved for Southern cotton in their mills. The Confederate states would be alone in their fight for the next three years.

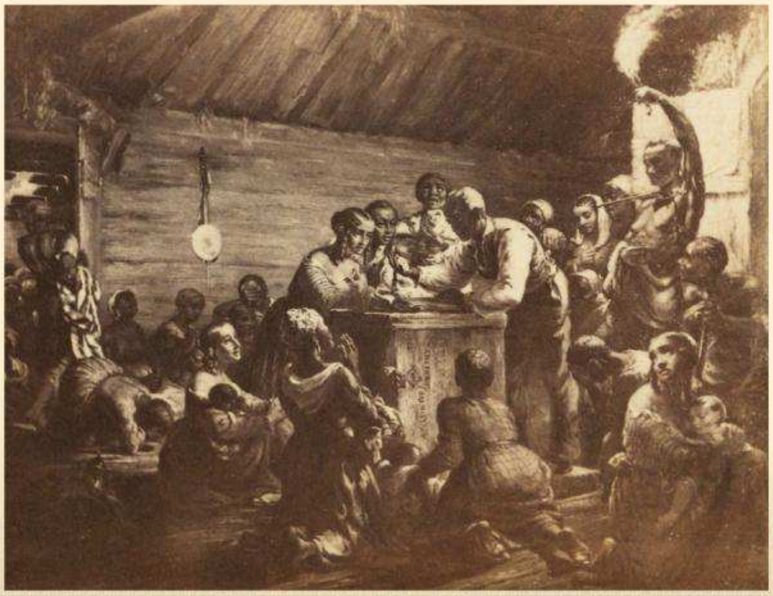
As the war wound down with Union generals Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan routing starved and barefoot rebel forces, Abraham Lincoln, though worn and exhausted, needed one last act to seal a real victory. In 1864, he mounted a campaign to insert a Thirteenth Amendment into the Constitution, freeing all slaves everywhere in the United States.

Worried that the Emancipation Act was only a "war powers" act, Lincoln recognized the Proclamation freed slaves in only ten Confederate states, but did not free any slaves in the border states. This was not the instrument he needed to abolish slavery for all time. Lincoln wanted to amend the Consitution – the first amendment in sixty years – to complete what he had begun in 1862. Dragging his cabinet with him, casting for votes in the Senate like a fisherman, Lincoln demonstrated his skills as a politician, learned in the hustings of state elections, and wheedling compromises in local disputes. Now, he used cajoling, promises of jobs, and granting of favors to snare votes for the final tally. On April 8, 1864, the Thirteenth Amendment was passed by the Senate. The House passed it on January 31, 1865, and final adoption eventually came on December 6, 1865.

But some state legislatures still dragged their feet. Texas waited until 1870, Delaware until 1901, and Kentucky ratified in 1976. The state of Mississippi approved the amendment in 1995, but did not ratify it due to a "clerical oversight" until February 5, 2013. Abraham Lincoln's work in this matter was done.

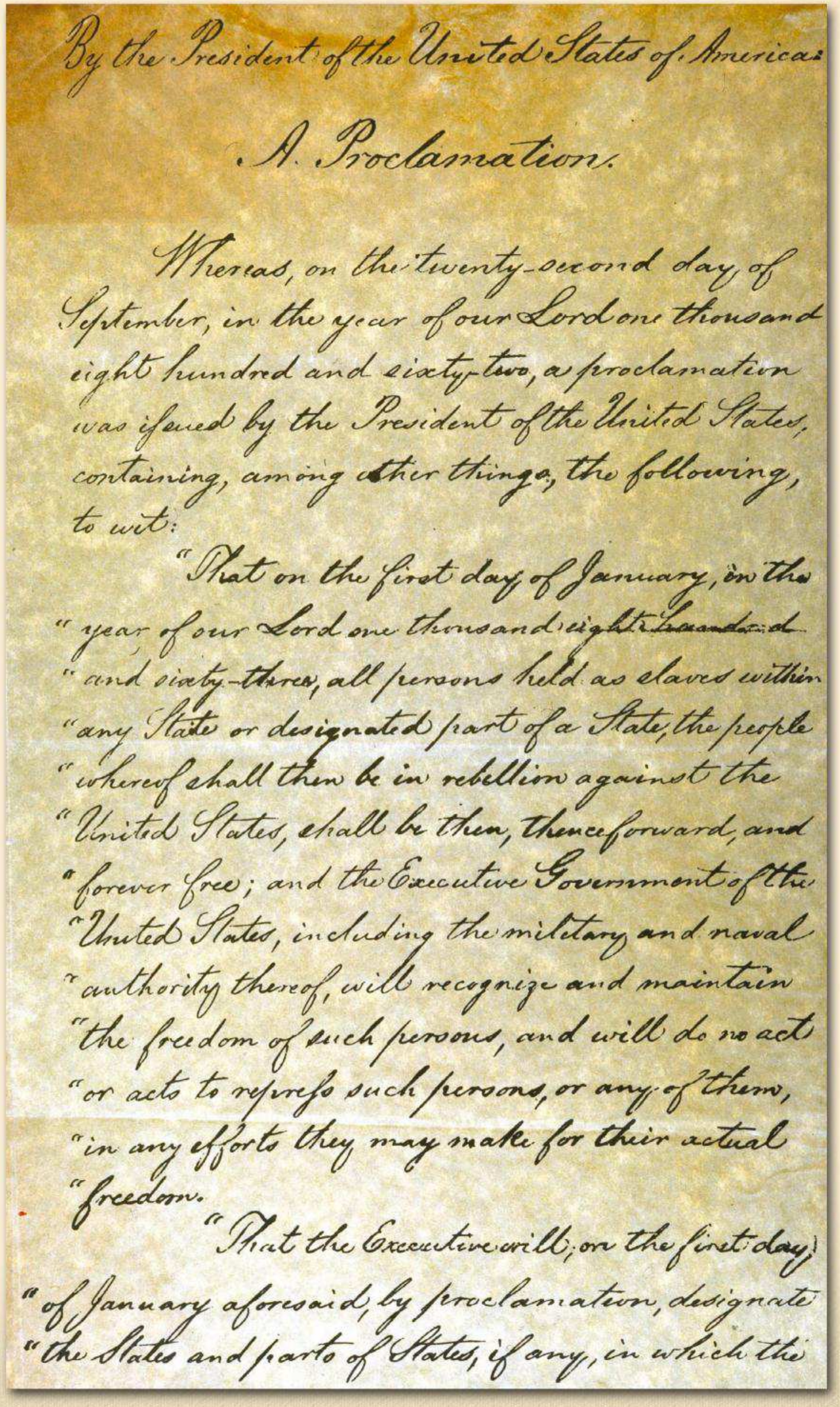
FINANCING A CIVIL WAR

At the outset of the Civil War, neither government had any notion of how they were going to fund the conflict. The Confederate government required all the states to contribute hard cash, troops, and supplies. The Union had the bigger army, more railroads, and a larger taxable population. Both governments quickly realized that war devoured budgets, so both heated up their printing presses and began churning out paper money backed not by gold but by promises. It was an immediate solution with grave long-term risks. The U.S. government spewed out $432,000,000 in "greenbacks", so called because of the bright green ink used on the reverse of each bill. Eventually, gold-backed currency was worth only 85 cents more than the devalued greenback dollar. The Confederacy's runaway inflation resulted in Southern families paying $1,000 for every barrel of flour sought.



RIGHT: *Tolman Carlton's painting Watch Meeting – Dec. 31, 1862 – Waiting for the Hour: a group of African American slaves wait for the moment on January 1, 1863, when the Emancipation Proclamation takes effect.*

OPPOSITE: *An 1863 copy in Lincoln's handwriting of a page from his Emancipation Proclamation issued on September 22, 1862, freeing the slaves still owned as "property" in the Confederate states in January 1863.*



By the President of the United States of America:

A. Proclamation.

Whereas, on the twenty-second day of
September, in the year of our Lord one thousand
eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation
was iſsued by the President of the United States,
containing, among other things, the following,
to wit:

"That on the first day of January, in the
" year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred
" and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within
"any State or designated part of a State, the people
" whereof shall then be in rebellion against the
"United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and
" forever free; and the Executive Government of the
"United States, including the military and naval
" authority thereof, will recognize and maintain
"the freedom of such persons, and will do no act
" or acts to repreſs such persons, or any of them,
" in any efforts they may make for their actual
"freedom.

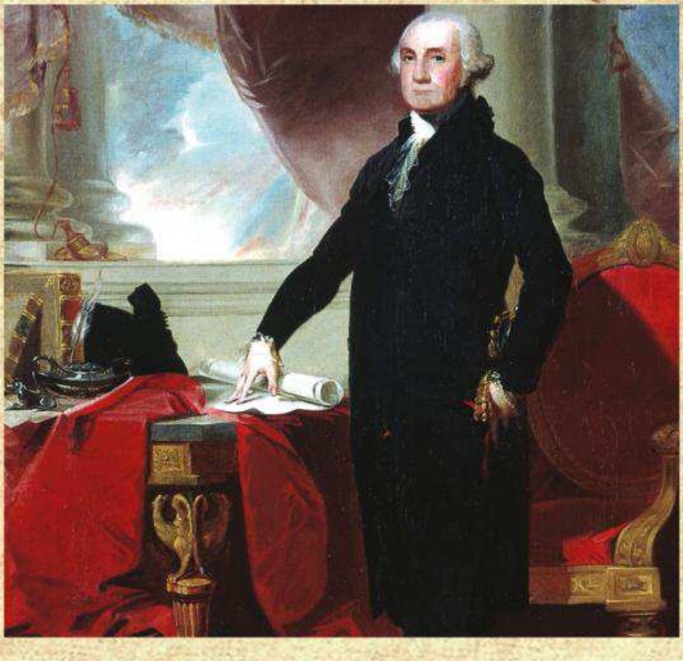
"That the Executive will, on the first day
" of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate
"the States and parts of States, if any, in which the

CHALLENGES TO THE CONSTITUTION

"We the people" is there for a reason. Those who lead the country must continually interpret and reframe the Constitution as they take on the challenge of guaranteeing justice and freedom for all who live under it. Over the past two centuries, presidents, houses of Congress, and the Supreme Court have studied constitutional rhetoric and examined ways to add amendments that address current needs and agendas. The Constitution's basic tenets have not changed; Americans still look to this document for guidance in providing a secure future for generations to come.

Andrew Jackson embodied the image of a forceful, often opinionated, demanding, and intractable leader of the country. He was the first president to use federal troops to break a strike when, during a violent labor dispute near the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, the Maryland governor appealed to the president to intervene. His deep-seated animosity toward the Second National Bank in Philadelphia led to a bitter battle with Senator Henry Clay and the bank's president, Nicholas Biddle, himself a shrewd and highly respected financier. Biddle had transformed the bank from a federally agented institution to a central bank with regulated credit lending procedures for smaller banks. In order to increase interest earnings, these banks lent exceedingly large numbers of banknotes to their borrowers. The notes could be converted to hard cash, but for convenience in the daily workings of commerce, people seldom took the time to obtain hard currency, as long as they believed the banks were sound. By collecting the notes and converting them to gold or silver, Biddle made certain the banks had enough reserves to keep them from overextending their lending procedures. Biddle's actions only angered Jackson that much more. The president had had adverse experiences with paper money in his younger days, and despised that type of currency.

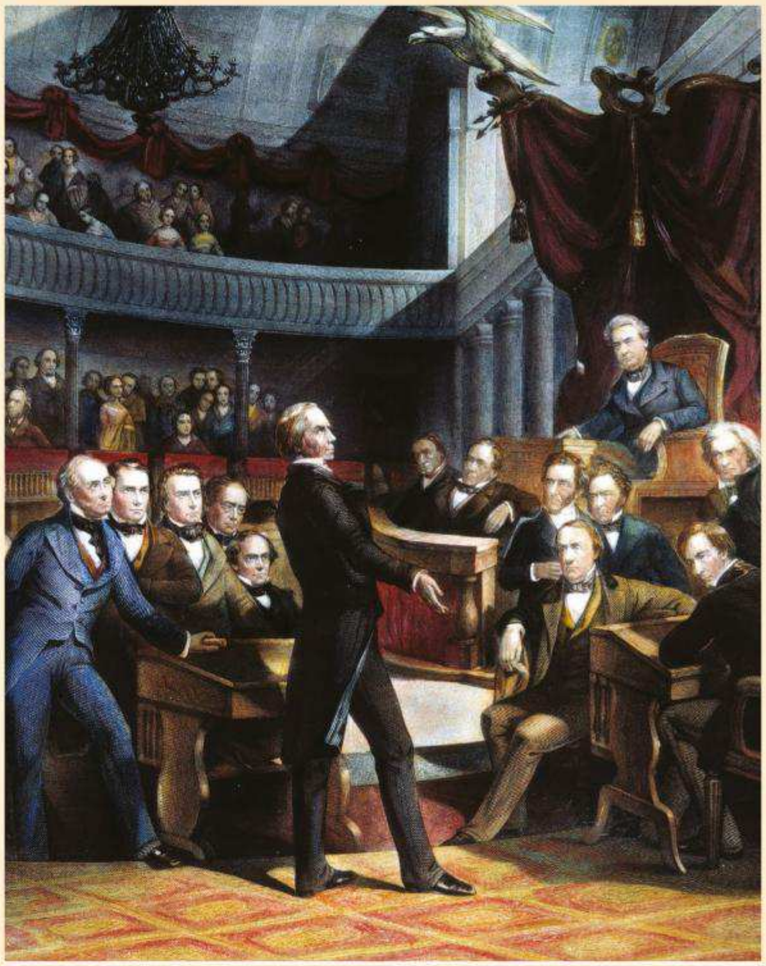
Biddle obtained Clay's support when he tried to recharter the bank four years before the expiration of its present charter. If Jackson vetoed the act, Clay would challenge him for the presidency in the



ABOVE: *George Washington, first president of the United States. In his farewell address, he warned against sectionalism and involvement in foreign wars.*

WASHINGTON'S NEUTRALITY ACT

Although George Washington made a conscious effort to keep an appropriate distance between Congress and the presidency, he was not above exercising his chief executive powers in the early days of his administration. When France went to war with Britain and Spain in 1793, the Alliance of 1788 (made by the U.S. with France during the height of the Revolutionary War) now created a problem. The United States had promised to "defend the French West Indies against all powers." If Britain attacked the French island of Martinique, Americans feared they had to make good their pledge. In doing so, this could throw the country into danger of attack by the British in Canada, and by Spain from the west and south. To avoid this kind of exposure, Washington in 1794 declared a neutrality policy. He did so even though, technically, the Constitution dictated that he present it before Congress. Nevertheless, tensions increased, and eventually, Washington sent Chief Justice John Jay to London in an effort to negotiate a settlement.



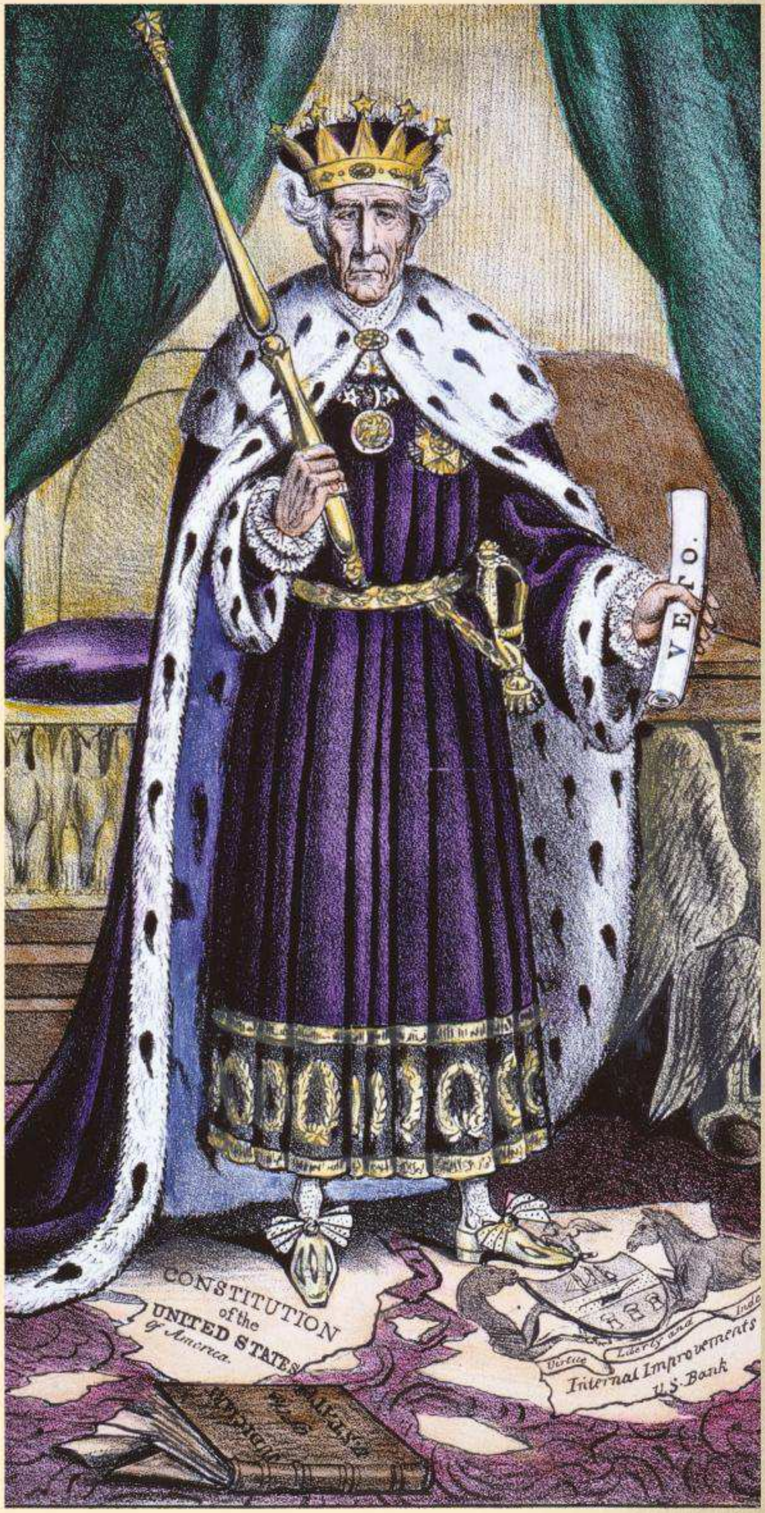
ABOVE: *Jackson's adversary, Henry Clay, shown here offering his California Compromise to the Senate on February 5, 1850. Congressmen argued over whether California should be admitted as a slave or free state.*

coming election, knowing Americans were in favor of the bank as it stood. The rechartering passed Congress and, as expected, Jackson, seeing Clay's plan, vetoed it.

This veto was viewed as one of the most important in the history of the Constitution. Jackson went beyond merely listing constitutional reasons for the veto; he incorporated his political, social, and economic rationale. The bank, he maintained, enjoyed monopolistic privileges and threatened the country's democracy while foreign investors in the bank benefited from Americans' taxes. Jackson challenged the Supreme Court, but the court ruled in favor of Congress, stating it had the right to establish a bank, citing implied powers listed in the Constitution.

Jackson went on to assert that before Congress considered any legislation, it must first consult with the president, not wait for a possible veto. He was reelected over Clay in 1832 and immediately sought to withdraw all the government's deposits from the bank. His Secretary of the Treasury refused to follow his orders. Jackson fired him – the first time a president fired a cabinet member. In fact, Jackson went ahead and took the money out piecemeal, depositing it in smaller institutions called "pet banks."

Biddle countered by curtailing loans throughout the banking system and other measures designed to impact Jackson's actions, which led to a serious economic recession. Eventually Congress and the American people realized that Biddle's power-wielding tactics had created an economic disaster, and passed resolutions forbidding rechartering to avert further problems.



ABOVE: *Cartoon of Andrew Jackson as "King Andrew the First," trampling on the Constitution. The image is meant to portray his habit of using the presidency to force his agenda on the nation.*

The delighted Jackson cried out that he felt the vote "has put to death that mammoth of corruption and power, the Bank of the United States."

THE SOUTH SKIRTS AROUND THE CONSTITUTION

The post-Civil War era brought its own set of constitutional issues. Although slavery had been abolished by the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865, black citizens still suffered a virtual slavery in the coming decades and well into the twentieth century. Now that former slaves would receive pay for their labor, southern (and even northern) politicians and businessmen feared their own erosion of political power and job loss.

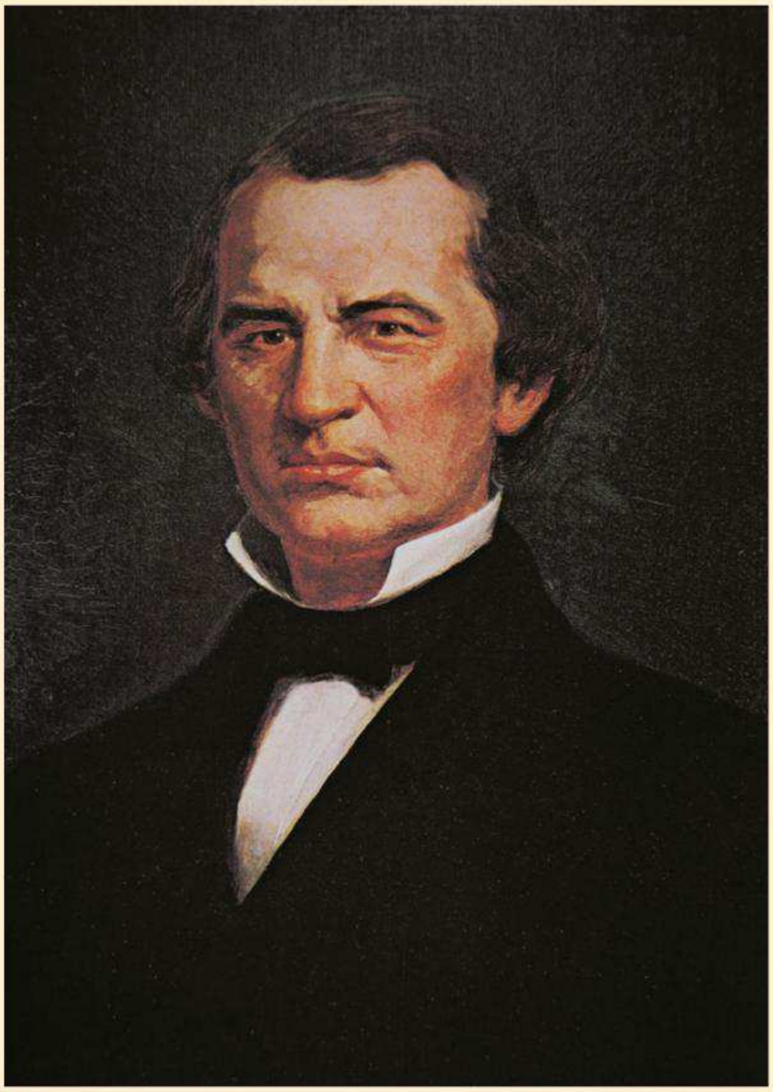
Lincoln's successor, President Andrew Johnson, sought to carry on Lincoln's policy of "malice toward none" by supporting states' rights for the South. To that end, Johnson agreed with southern officials that blacks needed guidance to more easily acclimate themselves into the free white society and not be granted too much freedom too quickly. He further proclaimed that individual states should decide whether or not blacks should be allowed to vote. (In this respect, even many northern states barred African Americans from the polling booth.)

This gave the former Confederates all they needed to set up what became known as the "Black Code," a near-slavery policy in which blacks were forbidden to vote, serve on juries, possess firearms, or own land. The southern officials labeled a person who did not work in the fields for a white man as a vagrant – an ambiguous judgment, since some blacks did not work for any white man in any capacity. Republicans found themselves divided into two factions. Radicals favored granting the blacks civil rights and the freedom to grow their own economy. Moderates wanted to leave the South to determine its own future.

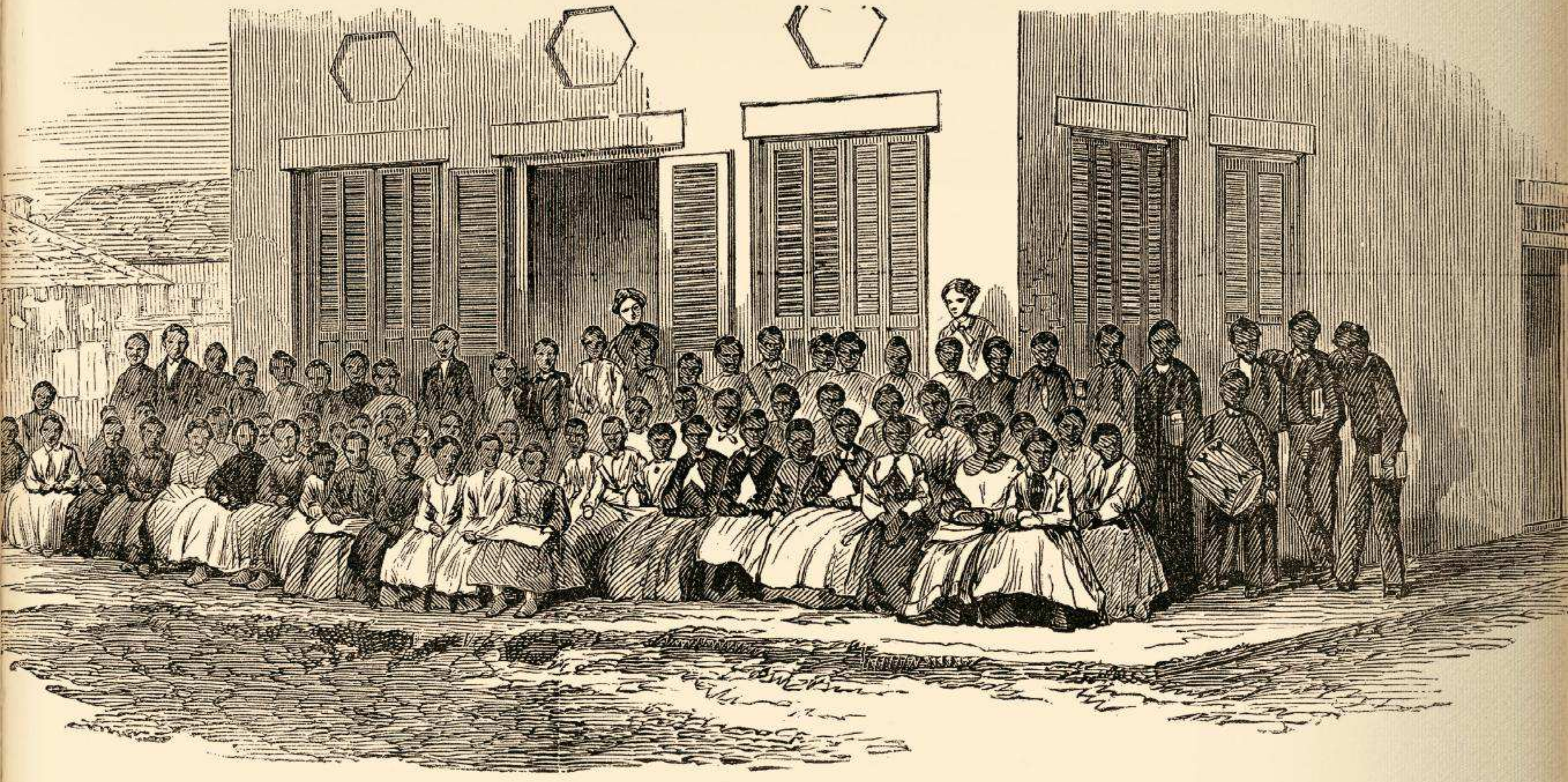
In addition, many Confederate rebels (including Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, imprisoned on charges of treason) were elected to Congress in a special election for the southern states in the fall of 1865. This caused more than a little alarm among the two houses, and on December 4, 1865, a joint committee voted to bar these former secessionists from Congress.

Early in 1866, Congress extended the Freedmen's Bureau (a section of the War Department), which had been established the previous year for refugees. This move was designed to enforce the protection of black rights by providing schools and fair labor practices in order to grow the southern economy. Then Congress passed the Civil Rights Act, which said that states could not prevent blacks from testifying in court, contracting for labor, or owning property. Johnson vetoed these policies, but on April 9, 1866, Congress stood firm and repassed the Civil Rights Act by a two-thirds majority. It was the first time a major piece of legislation passed over a president's veto.

In 1866 Congress proposed the Fourteenth Amendment, granting full citizenship to "all persons born or naturalized in the United States and…of the State wherein they reside." The amendment also forbade states to "make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges…of citizens of the United States…nor deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law." Another section mentioned that the southern states should allow blacks to vote, and if this right was denied, the state would be given less representation in Congress. Officials who had been aligned with the Confederacy were forbidden to hold state or federal office unless pardoned by a two-thirds majority of Congress. The amendment did not appeal to President Johnson, who still believed that individual states should decide black suffrage and other issues. He wanted nothing to stand in the way of reconciliation between the North and South, and campaigned around the country to promote his cause, but gained little support. Northern constituents wanted formal equality for blacks, and in the end Republicans won with a majority in the 1866 congressional election.



ABOVE: *Andrew Johnson, the seventeenth president of the United States, succeeded Abraham Lincoln after Lincoln's assassination. In 1875, he was elected to the Senate, the only former president to do so.*



COAN SCHOOL, NORFOLK, VIRGINIA.

ABOVE: *The Coan School at Norfolk, Virginia.*
The school was established for freedmen after the Civil War.

With the proposed Fourteenth Amendment still in limbo thanks to the southern states' objections, the northern radicals in Congress (those who favored black equality) forged ahead with the Reconstruction Acts. The first Reconstruction Act, passed in March 1867, stated that the former Confederate states would not be readmitted to the Union unless they ratified the Fourteenth Amendment and guaranteed voting rights to all in their state constitutions. Furthermore, these states (with the exception of Tennessee, which had ratified the amendment the previous year) were divided into five military districts, ruled by officers charged with the duty to protect the civil rights of all persons. The states could offset this division by drafting new state constitutions giving blacks voting rights, and in addition the states must ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. If they complied, they would be allowed seats in Congress and avoid military rule.

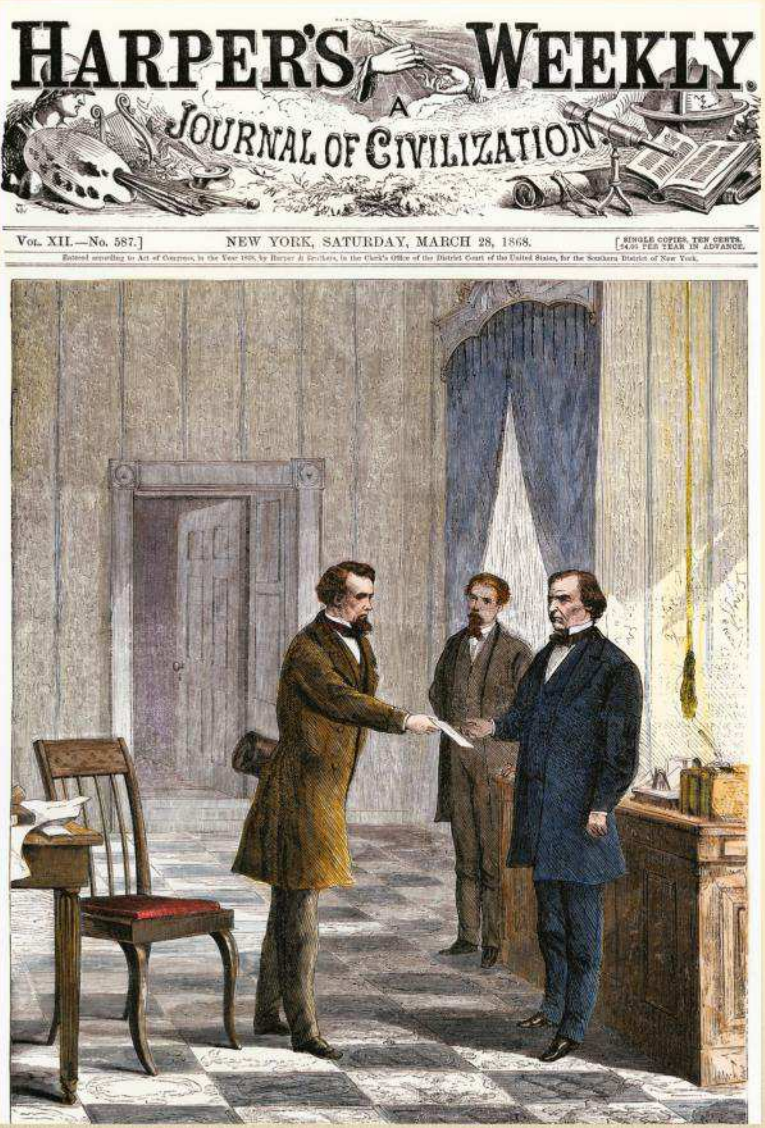
Not surprisingly, Johnson vetoed and Congress overruled. However, the ambiguity of the act presented more problems, since it lacked clear-cut procedures. Southern states decided they would live with military rule rather than give blacks voting rights. Congress then passed another act giving officers the authority to register voters and supervise elections of delegates to constitutional conventions, and still another act containing more definitive guidelines. White southerners fought these measures as well by staying away from the polls. Yet by 1868 enough states in the Union (Arkansas cooperated with the rulings and was readmitted in July) had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, and despite the fierce resistance put up by its opponents, it became part of the Constitution.

CARPETBAGGERS AND SCALAWAGS

Toward the end of the Civil War, a number of ambitious northerners headed south, stirred by the prospect of establishing themselves as planters in the soil-rich country. The white southern population, seeing these people as vultures trying to make a quick dollar on land devastated by war, called the entrepreneurs "carpetbaggers," a derisive term referring to travelers who carried bags made of old carpet remnants, a common practice at the time. Yet many of these northerners felt they had a mission to protect and nurture the rights of the newly freed blacks and guide them along the path to a life with good jobs and a decent education. Other white southerners sided with the North after the war when they realized that government subsidies for railroads, banking, and other industries could result in profitable investments. They were called "scalawags" (a term describing a useless horse) by former Confederates who scorned anyone joining forces with the North.

THE ROAD TO BLACK SUFFRAGE

The Fourteenth Amendment granted citizenship to any persons born or naturalized in the United States and as such, those persons were given all rights of liberty, life, and property. In addition, states were forbidden to make laws denying these rights. The amendment still did not, however, clearly emphasize that all citizens had the right to vote. Congress hoped, with the Fourteenth Amendment, that black suffrage would be assumed by the states. The Fifteenth Amendment, ratified in 1870, clearly spelled out that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by…any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Yet, it gave states the right to enact their own voting laws, and soon many states pushed through measures designed to keep blacks from the voting booth. These included levying excessive



HARPER'S WEEKLY.
A JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION.

Vol. XII.—No. 587.] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 28, 1868. [SINGLE COPIES, TEN CENTS. $4.00 PER YEAR IN ADVANCE.

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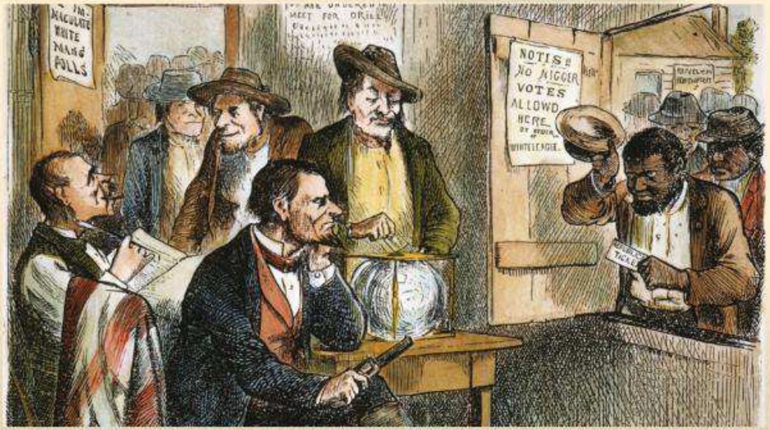
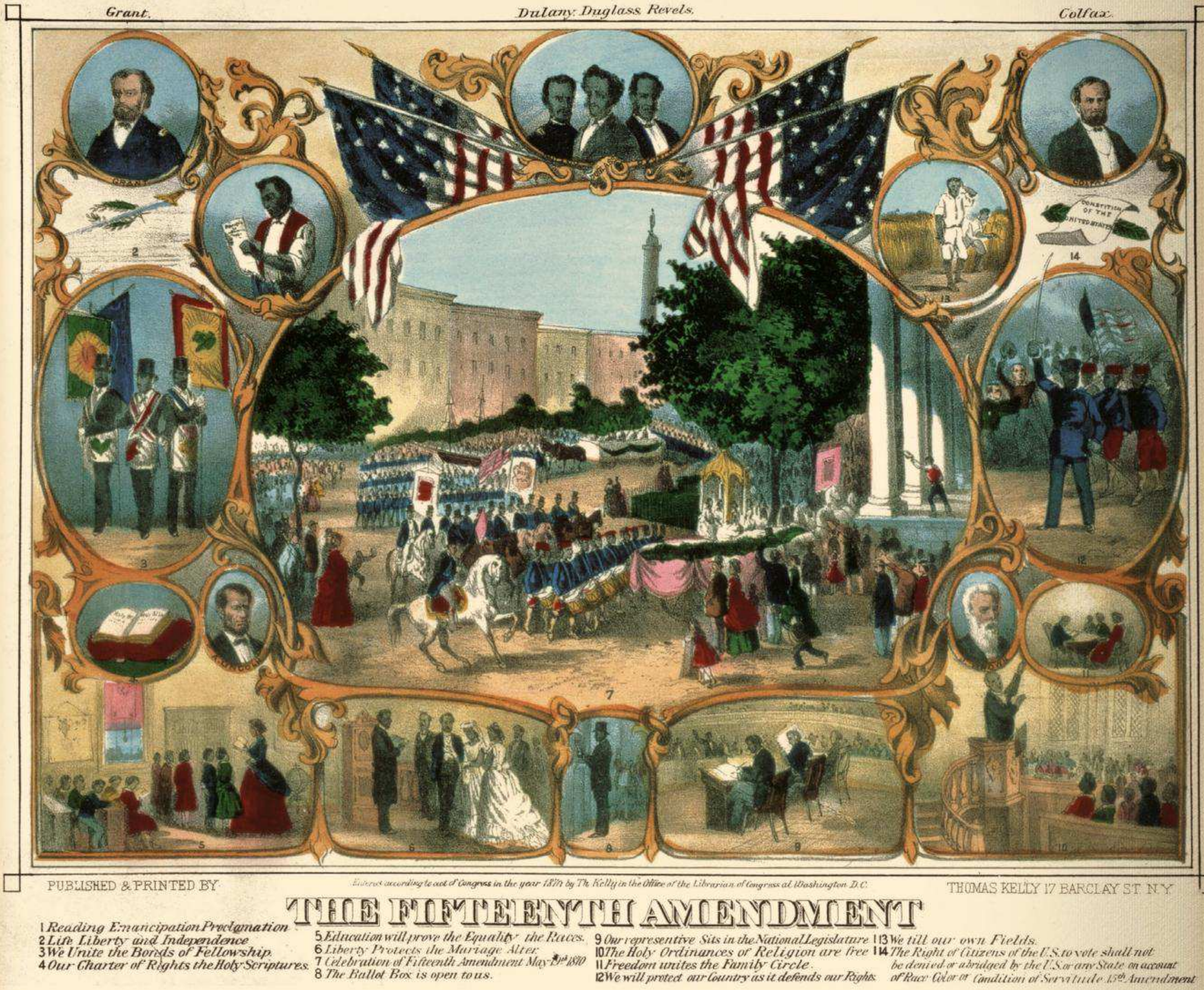
THE FIRST IMPEACHMENT

In 1867 Congress had passed the Tenure of Office Act, which forbade the president from firing officials appointed through the Senate without first getting permission from the Senate. In 1868, Johnson removed Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, a radical sympathizer, who opposed Johnson's post-Civil War policies. The House of Representatives, following the Constitution's guidelines, impeached Johnson, charging him with misconduct in the Stanton affair. (Impeachment means that the House finds the president may have committed a crime and should be brought to trial by the Senate, but at that point, he is not convicted.) Johnson's lawyers contended he had done nothing against the law, and removed Stanton only because he felt the Tenure of Office Act unconstitutional. The lawyers further maintained that Johnson was within his rights to remove Stanton, since he had been appointed by Lincoln, and cabinet members had tenure only "during the term of the president by whom they may have been appointed." Other charges stemmed from Johnson's refusal to go along with the civil rights policies mandated by Congress, and the "inflammatory and scandalous" speeches he made during his campaign to gain support for his policies in dealing with the South. After the House's impeachment vote, Johnson went on trial before the Senate. Johnson's lawyers said he was innocent of the charges of "violating criminal law." The House maintained he had gone beyond the limits of presidential authority. In a very close final call, the Senate decided against convicting the president by a single vote. Bill Clinton is the only other president to have been impeached and tried before the Senate.


IM-MACULATE WHITE MANS POLLS
MEET FOR DRILL
NOTIS = NO NIGGER VOTES ALLOWD HERE BY ORDER OF WHITELEAGUE
TICKET


Grant.
Dulany. Duglass. Revels.
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PUBLISHED & PRINTED BY
Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1870 by Th. Kelly in the Office of the Librarian of Congress at Washington D.C.
THOMAS KELLY 17 BARCLAY ST. N.Y.
THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT
1 Reading Emancipation Proclamation
2 Life Liberty and Independence
3 We Unite the Bonds of Fellowship.
4 Our Charter of Rights the Holy Scriptures.
5 Education will prove the Equality the Races.
6 Liberty Protects the Mariage Alter.
7 Celebration of Fifteenth Amendment May 19th 1870
8 The Ballot Box is open to us.
9 Our representive Sits in the National Legislature
10 The Holy Ordinances of Religion are free
11 Freedom unites the Family Circle.
12 We will protect our Country as it defends our Rights.
13 We till our own Fields.
14 The Right of Citizens of the U.S. to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the U.S. or any State on account of Race Color or Condition of Servitude 15th Amendment

poll taxes and setting up complex literacy tests. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were a turning point in American history. Their passage marked the first time newly freed slaves enjoyed the privilege of voting and owning property. (By comparison, for example, after slavery had been abolished in the British Caribbean sugar islands, the freedmen were forced to pay outrageous poll taxes and adhere to strict property ownership laws.) In addition, it signaled the advance of centralized political influence in the country by lowering the power allowed to each of the individual states. Now that blacks and whites were no longer separated by "slave" and "free" designations, the United States and its people became more closely related in a complex social and economic populace, one that many believed needed more oversight than in earlier generations.

ABOVE: *Parade held in Baltimore, May 19, 1870, to celebrate the passing of the Fifteenth Amendment granting universal male suffrage. States were allowed to set their own voting laws, but the amendment declared that all men must be allowed to vote regardless of race.*

OPPOSITE LEFT: *A cartoon from a northern American newspaper of 1874 on the efforts of the White League in Louisiana to intimidate and disenfranchise black voters.*

FAR LEFT: *Senate sergeant-at-arms serving the impeachment summons to President Johnson, 1868. Johnson is rated as one of the worst presidents because of his opposition to federally guaranteed rights for African Americans.*

THE KU KLUX KLAN ACT AND JIM CROW LAWS

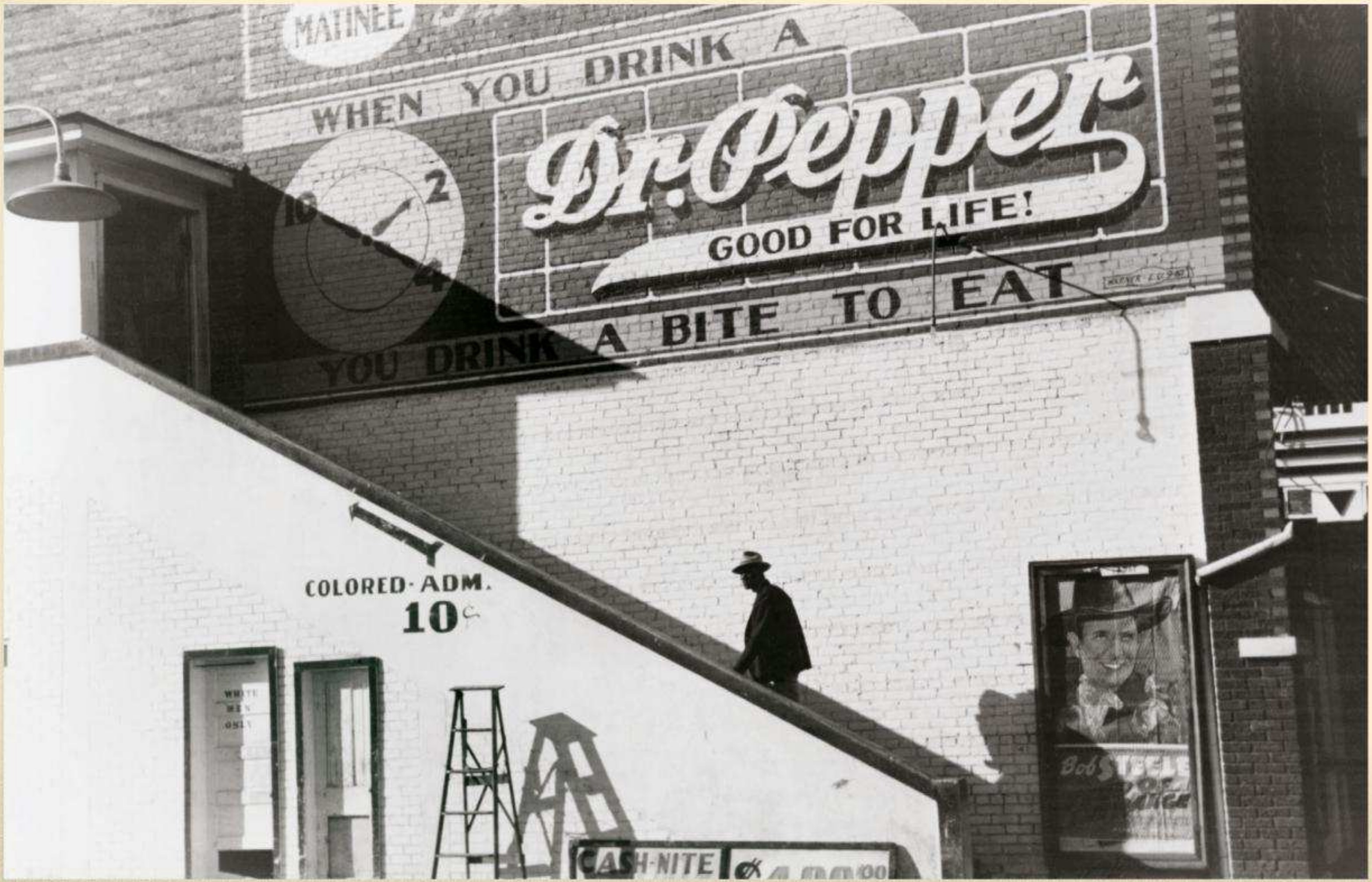
Athough the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments secured equal rights for blacks, they also created a backlash among middle-class southern whites who saw the rise of blacks in industry and politics as a threat to their own economic status. To counteract the radicals, who used whatever means possible to encourage blacks to exercise their voting rights, defiant whites in the South formed secret societies, aimed at protecting their own "rights" while attacking those of blacks.

The most notorious of these was known as the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan, established in 1866, started out as a harmless social club, but soon evolved into a vigilante organization designed to terrorize blacks into submission and force them out of politics and the work force. Their tactics included dressing in sheets and passing themselves off as the ghosts of Confederate soldiers come to take revenge on the rebellious blacks. This led to outright force, including whipping black officeholders and, in some cases, Klansmen even resorted to murder and lynching.

Republican and Civil War hero General Ulysses S. Grant was elected president in 1868. In 1870 and 1871, Congress initiated three Force Acts in an attempt to stem the tide of the Klan movement by sending troops in to oversee federal elections and arrest any Klansmen engaged in terrorist activities. The last of these, the Ku Klux Klan Act, had the most impact; those who tried to prevent qualified citizens from voting were fined or imprisoned. The president suspended the writ of habeas corpus in nine South Carolina counties and sent federal troops to ensure a fair 1872 election.

This helped weaken the Klan organization, but did not eradicate the KKK, its supporters, or their agenda. By the mid-1870s, whites in the North and South, including those who might have been sympathetic to the African Americans' plight, had grown weary of the

BELOW: *An African American using the colored entrance of a movie theater in Mississippi in 1939. This is one example of the Jim Crow laws that established racial segregation for public facilities in the South.*



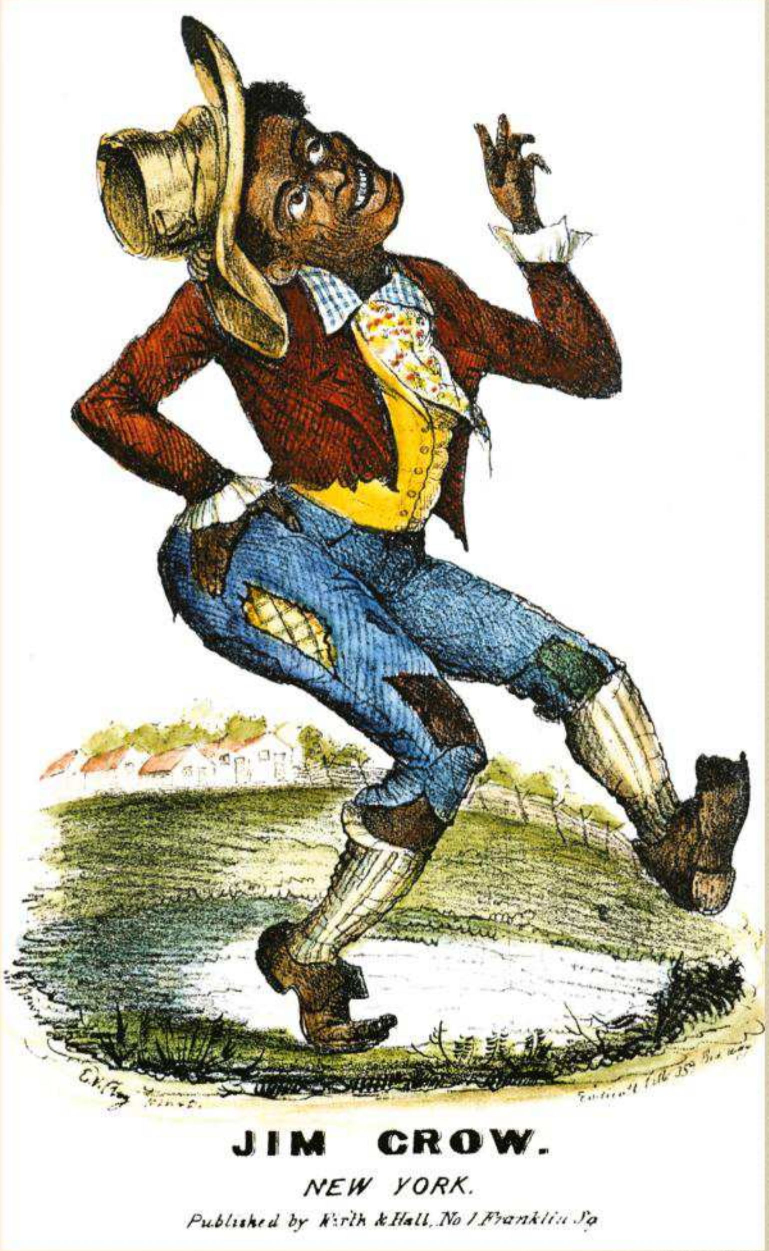
SEGREGRATION IN THE WEST

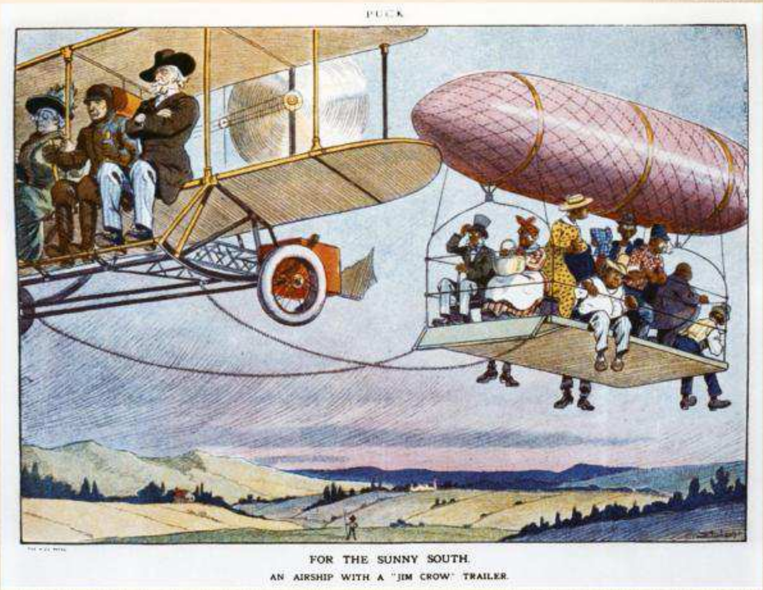
Blacks also suffered racial discrimination in the military following the Civil War, including those sent out west. Two segregated (colored) infantries were assigned white officers, thus limiting their chances to rise through the ranks. Blacks sent out west (known as "Buffalo soldiers") constructed roads and forts, protected wagon trains, and engaged in campaigns to control the Indian tribes. Over time, settlers in western towns developed an antagonistic attitude toward members of the black military. Incidents of whites murdering black soldiers were not uncommon. Yet, once their service ended, many blacks settled out west and encouraged others to leave the South and its brutalities to find a better life in the West.

situation. Northerners and the federal government, seeing that a threat of slavery no longer existed, left the South to manage its own affairs.

A practice designed to keep African Americans marginalized in a de facto caste social structure, known as the Jim Crow system, rose up in the South in the latter part of the 19th Century. (Jim Crow was the name of a character in minstrel shows – often a caricature of a black person – performed in the pre-Civil War South.)

The Jim Crow system grew quickly. Blacks were arrested on minor charges, and when they couldn't pay their fines (sometimes as much as $500) a judge sentenced them to hard labor in the fields, on railroad gangs, or in factories for as little as five cents a day. Whenever possible, blacks resisted this bigotry by moving to the larger cities in the South where discrimination existed but jobs paid better. Eventually an elite community of black doctors, lawyers, and merchants existed to serve the African American clientele. The rise of African American professionals only caused the southern white community to search for other ways to keep this faction "in their place." No language in the Constitution forbade separate facilities for blacks and whites. With that in mind, local politicians passed laws establishing black drinking fountains, waiting rooms, train and bus seating, and forbade blacks from entering parks, white-owned movie theaters, restaurants, and other public places. Although the practice had existed for years, these laws supported the discrimination by making it legal. Black public schools bore the brunt of segregation. State taxes were distributed to local school districts, with all-white schools receiving the bulk of the funds, while all-black systems received very little.


JIM CROW.
NEW YORK.
Published by Firth & Hall, No 1 Franklin Sq


PUCK
FOR THE SUNNY SOUTH.
AN AIRSHIP WITH A "JIM CROW" TRAILER.

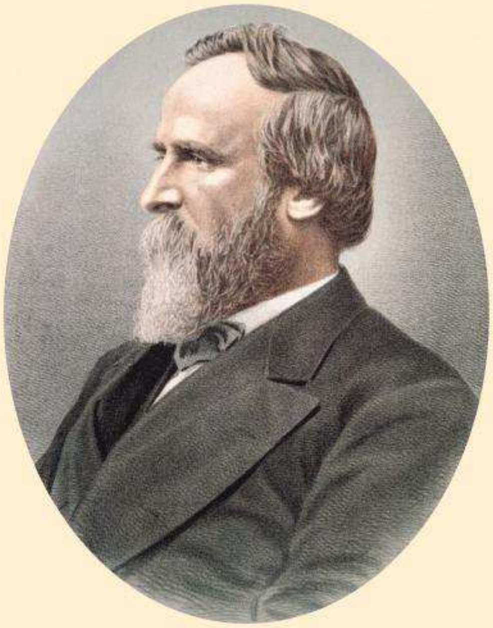
TOP: *Jim Crow song sheet cover, c.1835, of Thomas Dartmouth "Daddy" Rice depicted in his blackface minstrel performance.*

BOTTOM: *A cartoon published in Puck magazine, 1913, ridiculing the Jim Crow laws. The drawing depicts an "Airship for the Sunny South with a segregated 'Jim Crow' trailer."*

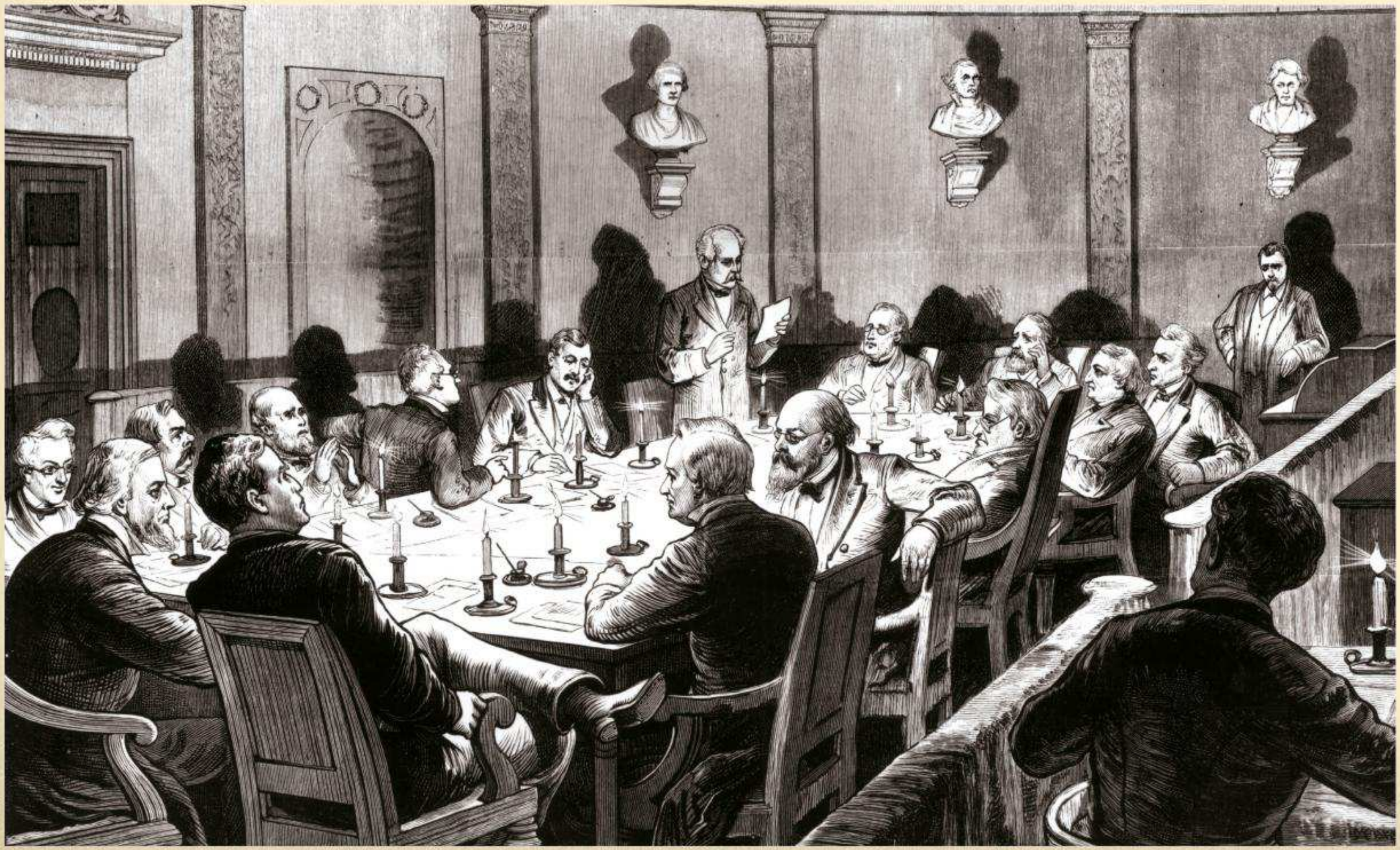
TESTING THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE AND ITS POWER

To win the presidential election, a candidate must have the majority of electoral votes, a total of 270. Each state appoints a certain number of electors equal to the number of its senators and representatives in Congress. With the two-party system, a party needs to win the majority of the votes in a state to win the whole state. When voters cast a ballot, they are in effect voting for their state's electors as well. The exceptions are Nebraska and Maine, whose residents still vote for their electors. Electoral disputes are settled by the states. Congress counts the votes (usually just a formality) on January 6.

Over the years, politicians and the public have objected to the Electoral College because a candidate may win enough electoral votes but not a majority of the popular vote. In other words, if a candidate has less than 50 percent of the popular vote but carries key states with a greater number of electors, that candidate may win according to the Electoral College. For example, in 1968, Richard Nixon won 43 percent of the popular vote and 301 electoral votes. His opponent Hubert Humphrey won 42 percent of the popular vote and only 197 electoral votes, even though the popular election was close. A third



LEFT: *Rutherford B. Hayes, nineteenth president of the United States. In his inaugural address, Hayes promised to support wise, honest, and peaceful government in the South.*



candidate, George Wallace, gained 13 percent of the popular votes and won 40 electoral votes.

The election of 1876 put the machinery of the Electoral College to the test. Republicans had nominated Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio; the Democrats put up the wealthy Samuel Tilden of New York. After most votes were counted, it appeared Tilden had carried four northern states and all the southern states, giving him 184 electoral votes against Hayes's 165, with an additional twenty votes disputed. Of these twenty, nineteen were from Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana, enough to swing the election. In the South, Republicans moved quickly, and telegraphed their political workers in those states, ordering them to declare Democratic ballots invalid, which would give the election to Hayes.

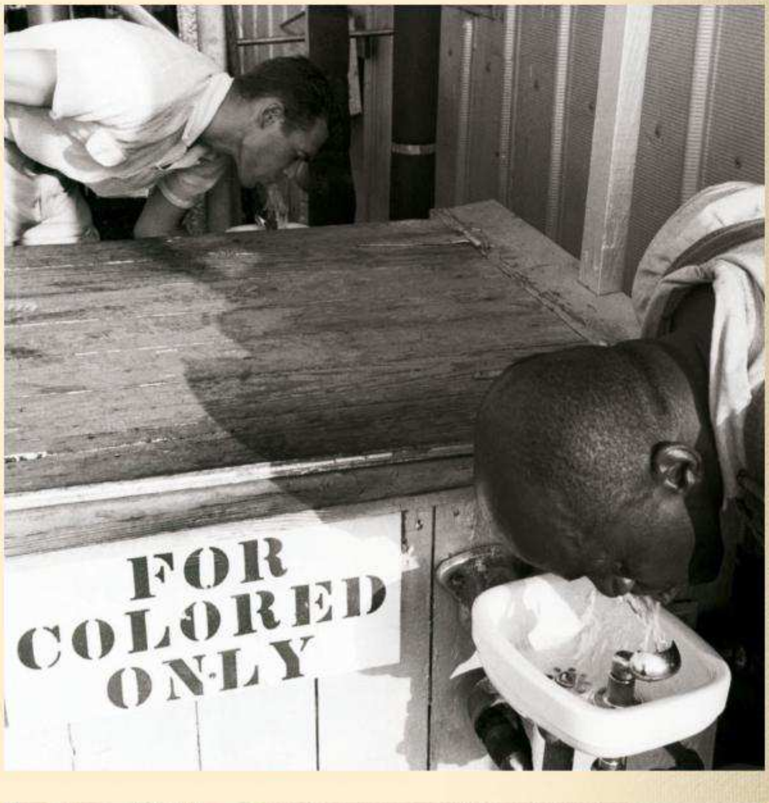
Democrats protested, and when it was time to add up the ballots, the Democratic House and the Republican Senate couldn't agree on who should do the counting. After Congress created an electoral commission to settle the matter, all sorts of corruptive practices came to light: the Louisiana governor sold electoral votes; blacks had been forced away from the polls, and the Florida election board had offered its votes to Tilden. Controversy and accusations wore on until the commission finally awarded the election to Hayes, but that didn't end it. Democrats threatened to filibuster (an extremely long speech used to keep congressional members from acting on a measure) to prevent recording the vote. Finally the Compromise of 1877 settled the conflict. Southern Democrats cut a deal with Hayes: if he promised to remove troops from their states and let them handle their own affairs, they would agree to the election results. Hayes gave his consent and thus the Reconstruction period was brought to an end. Democrats, for the most part, held forth in the South for about the next hundred years. Blacks had been freed, but southern manipulation of their rights (poll taxes, literacy tests, and rampant discrimination in schools, restaurants, and other public places) was a practice largely ignored by the whites throughout other parts of the nation. This climate existed until the 1960s, when the black community, sensing that civil rights was an idea whose time had come, rose up and demanded true equality, long overdue.

SEPARATE BUT EQUAL

The Supreme Court put its endorsement on forced segregation when, in 1896, it ruled that states could decree that public places be separated into black and white sections in the Plessy vs. Ferguson case. In 1892, a black man, Homer Plessy, refused to be placed in a segregated railroad car. The Supreme Court, voting 7-1 in favor of Ferguson, said that the states were within their rights to establish separate accommodations and educational facilities, because this did "not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race." Justice John Marshall Harlan, who submitted the one dissenting vote, stated, "Our Constitution is color blind. The arbitrary separation of citizens on the basis of race…is a badge of servitude…inconsistent with civil freedom."

OPPOSITE BOTTOM: *The Electoral Commission of 1877 holds a secret session by candlelight in Washington. The commission was set up to decide the result of the controversial presidential election.*

BELOW: *Segregation continued into the 1960s in public places.*



ROAST TURKEY
DINNER
70¢
TURKEY
DINNER 70

THEODORE ROOSEVELT TAKES OVER

Few, if any, presidents ignored the Constitution's presidential limits of power as much as Theodore Roosevelt. He had served as vice president under William McKinley and took office in 1901 after McKinley's assassination. The new president barely had his large family settled into the White House before he imprinted his own brand of imperial rule on the executive branch. In 1902, he mediated in a strike brought by the United Mine Workers against the anthracite coal companies, which were owned by the railroads. The strike had gone on for several months with no end in sight. The miners demanded a 19-20 per cent raise and shorter hours, plus fringe benefits, but the owners said no. Roosevelt brought the parties together and asked for concessions on both sides. This served only to anger the coal operators and gain public support for the miners. In the end, Roosevelt threatened to send in federal troops to take over the mines. That worked. Both sides agreed to have the president appoint a commission to resolve the issue and the miners returned to work. In 1903 they received a 10 per cent raise in pay (the cost of which the coal companies, in turn, passed on to the public by increasing the

price of coal). This also made the coal companies happy, since they were not required to recognize the UMW.

Roosevelt garnered high praise from the American people for his leadership strength and take-charge strategy, especially since he had moved forward without first asking for a backing from Congress. It was also the first time that government had arbitrated a dispute between management and labor as well as the first time both parties met at the White House on equal footing. By widening the parameters for what was considered rightful presidential action, this resolution by government intervention marked the start of a new era in the American presidency.

Roosevelt's ultimate dream, building a canal through the isthmus of Panama, was also realized without involvement from Congress. Panama, a province of Colombia, declared itself a republic (with U.S. support) after Colombia refused to grant Roosevelt permission to build the canal. Roosevelt ordered gunboats sent down as protection, and the digging began in earnest. "I took Panama," Roosevelt said, "without the help of the cabinet." He also went around the House of Representatives, the Senate, and the Constitution, later saying, "The Panama Canal would not have been started if I had not taken hold of it," implying that a prolonged congressional debate with numerous hearings might have resulted in the project's defeat.

Big business was not beyond Roosevelt's aim, either. He was known as a trustbuster, yet believed in acting prudently. In 1905 he focused on the railroads and asked for an increase in power for the Interstate Commerce Commission, so that the ICC could fix rates, not merely dispute unreasonable ones. He also insisted on gaining the right to inspect the railroads' private records – the only way to determine if rates were fair. Congress objected, saying that private records should stay private. Yet Roosevelt continued to push and in 1907 the Hepburn Bill was passed, granting the commission the authority to inspect the railroad companies' finances, in the event that a shipper filed a complaint against the railroad.

Roosevelt managed all this and more, and one may wonder how he was able to accomplish these unprecedented measures and why Congress didn't protest his independent actions more frequently. Perhaps it was because the people and the press lauded his initiative so completely that it was thought opposition from Congress might serve only to invite criticism.

OPPOSITE: *President Theodore Roosevelt, twenty-sixth president of the United States, with his family in 1903.*
From left: Youngest son Quentin, Theodore, Theodore Jr., Archibald, Alice, Kermit, wife Edith, and Ethel.

TOP: *Shovels at work at the Culebra Cut, an artificial valley which forms part of the Panama Canal. This view is from the west bank. The photograph appeared in the book The Panama Canal, by J. Saxon Mills, published in the early 1900s.*

BELOW: *Woodrow Wilson, twenty-eighth president of the United States. After World War I, Wilson advocated for the United States to join the League of Nations, but Congress refused to support the measure.*

WILSON'S RAILROAD

In April 1917, the United States entered World War I, and President Woodrow Wilson, seeing that the country's railroad industry had suffered financial setbacks due to rising taxes and operating costs, decided to nationalize the railroads for the duration of the war. The United States Railroad Association (USRA) trimmed costs by eliminating nonessential routes. At the same time, the USRA ordered 100,000 new railroad cars and 1,930 steam engines. Later, Wilson told Congress he enacted the measure "because there were some things which the government can do and private management cannot."

PRESIDENTS, CONGRESS, SUPREME COURT & CIVIL RIGHTS

In the 1950s during the Eisenhower administration, the issue of civil rights gained a foothold. Other countries had begun to take notice that nearly 100 years after the Emancipation Proclamation, blacks still did not enjoy the same privileges as whites. Separate schools and facilities for blacks were common throughout the South and resentment and anger were rising within black communities across the country. Eisenhower did little to force legislation granting equal rights, but after he appointed Earl Warren as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, things slowly began to change. Warren felt it was time to help advance the cause, and in 1954 the court took on the case of Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, in which the "separate but equal" decision by the court in the 1896 Plessy vs. Ferguson case came under dispute. In Brown vs. Board of Education, Oliver Brown, a welder from Topeka, Kansas, sued the Topeka board, stating that his daughter was forced to take a bus to the black school rather than attend the nearby neighborhood school with her white friends.

It was argued that there was no "equal" where segregation was concerned and its existence was harmful for both blacks and whites. The very fact of segregation implied that blacks were inferior to whites. Chief Justice Earl Warren convinced the other eight justices to rule for Brown against the "separate but equal" decision made in 1896, thus reversing Plessy vs. Ferguson.

During the next few years, the southern states made no efforts toward desegregation and, although Eisenhower gave lip service to the Supreme Court decision, he did little to support it, fearing that forced integration could only lead to mob rule by whites, and it appeared he was right. Often if a southern white school allowed integration, crowds gathered in protest and shouted offensive epithets

ABOVE: *Rosa Parks, American civil rights advocate, sits at the front of a public bus in Montgomery, Alabama, on December 21, 1956, the day buses were integrated in the city. Reporter Nicholas C. Criss is seated behind her.*

"I HAVE A DREAM"

In August 1963, 200,000 people, mostly black, led by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., descended on Washington, demanding the passage of the Civil Rights Act. Dr. King's "I Have a Dream" speech, in which he proclaimed there would be a time when his children would be judged "not by the color of their skin but by the content of their character," became an iconic event in the nation's history, and is often quoted to this day.

RIGHT: *The Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. (second from right) leads the march from Selma, Alabama, to the state capitol at Montgomery in 1965. Altogether there were three marches protesting the extreme restrictions that Alabama had enacted for black voters.*

to blacks as they tried to enter. In 1957, when Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, opened the institution to a few blacks, Governor Orval Faubus called out the National Guard to keep the black students from entering. Eisenhower, realizing that the governor had broken federal law, sent troops and ordered 10,000 National Guardsmen to federal duty, taking control from Faubus. The black students entered school and a small contingent of the National Guard remained there for the rest of the year.

The civil rights movement, only a tiny seedling at first, was spread all across the country by the late 1950s. In 1955, Rosa Parks, a black seamstress for a Montgomery, Alabama, department store, refused to give up her bus seat to a white man after the seats designated to whites had been filled. The bus driver didn't specifically have the authority to demand that she stand, but it was customary for a driver to call the police if a black passenger refused. She was arrested. In explaining her actions, she later said, "I would have to know once and for all what rights I had as a human being and a citizen." On the day of her trial and for several days after, protesters staged a major boycott of the bus company. The boycott, led by a young minister, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., gained national prominence, which in turn led to the formation of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Congress of Racial Equality. Blacks organized "sit-ins" at whites-only lunch counters, forcing the restaurants to serve them.

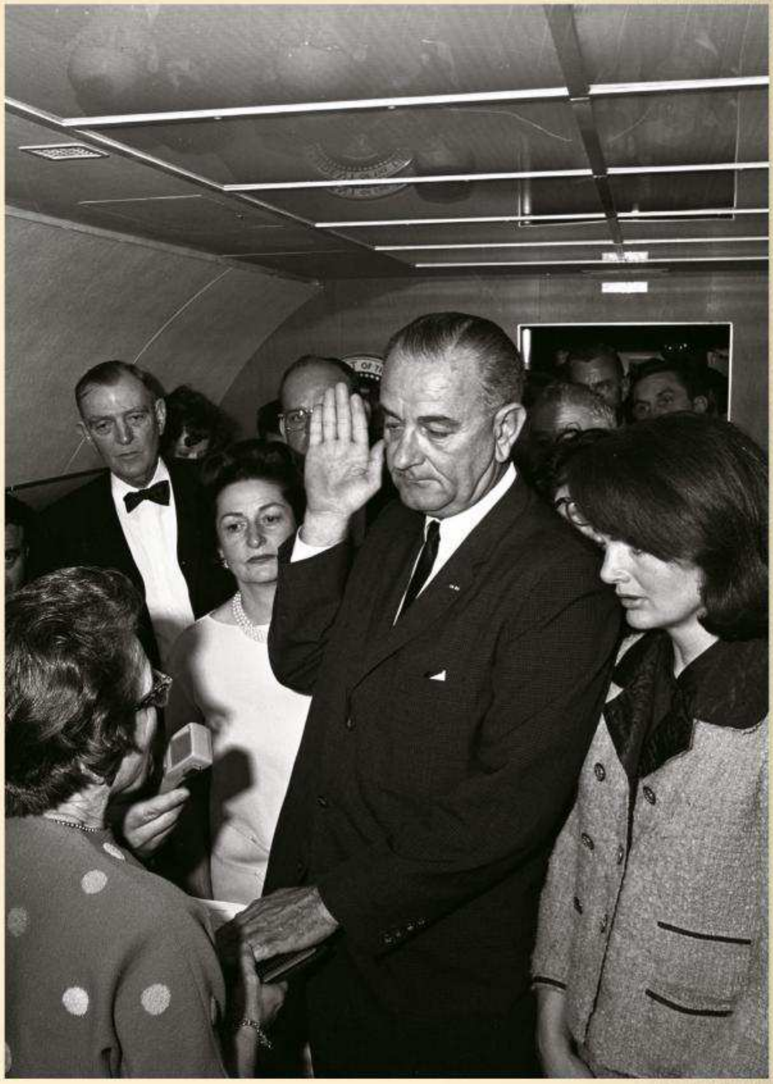
In 1961 a group of blacks, along with sympathetic whites, set up a series of "freedom rides" to test the federal laws forbidding segregated transportation. One Alabama bus was set on fire, and mob violence ensued. In 1961 the nation had a new president, John F. Kennedy. He was the son of a Boston millionaire and a man who understood that the country could no longer ignore racial inequalities and still keep the peace. He put forth a civil rights bill in 1963, which included a ban on discrimination in public places and the protection of voting rights for all citizens.

Kennedy's civil rights proposal lingered in Congress. On the day of his assassination, November 22, 1963, Lyndon Baines Johnson was sworn in as president aboard Air Force One. Johnson had served eleven years in the Senate and knew how to manipulate legislators to force bills through committee and ensure their passage. The Civil Rights Act, passed in 1964, forbade racial and gender discrimination by employers and outlawed segregation in public places. The Twenty-fourth Amendment to the Constitution, also passed in 1964, made certain that nothing prevented qualified blacks from voting in national elections. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 and a Supreme Court ruling in 1966 banned poll taxes from state elections as well.

This shows how much can be accomplished when a president knows how to handle the congressional dynamic. However, by 1968 Johnson was seen as a failure when, during the later years of his administration, he allowed the Vietnam War to escalate, causing widespread protests by young people opposed to being drafted into a war they felt was unwinnable and unnecessary. Seeing his popularity quickly declining, Johnson declared that he would not run again for the presidency.

During the last two centuries, presidents have been allowed to seize power during a "state of emergency." According to the Special Committee on the Termination of the National Emergency, over 400 provisions give the president authority to enact such measures as the ability to seize property and commodities, send troops abroad, institute martial law, seize and control all transportation and communication, regulate the operation of private enterprise, and restrict travel – all without the need to follow constitutional guidelines. In 1973, the committee met to discuss whether or not the country actually existed in a state of emergency and what would be considered one in the future. That year the Senate passed the War Powers Act over President Richard Nixon's veto. Congress was concerned about how both the Johnson and Nixon administrations had handled the Vietnam War (fraught with illegalities and deceptions), and felt that it was time to reassert its authority. In fact, the wars in North Korea and Vietnam had never been declared by Congress, although the Constitution states that the power is given to the legislative branch.

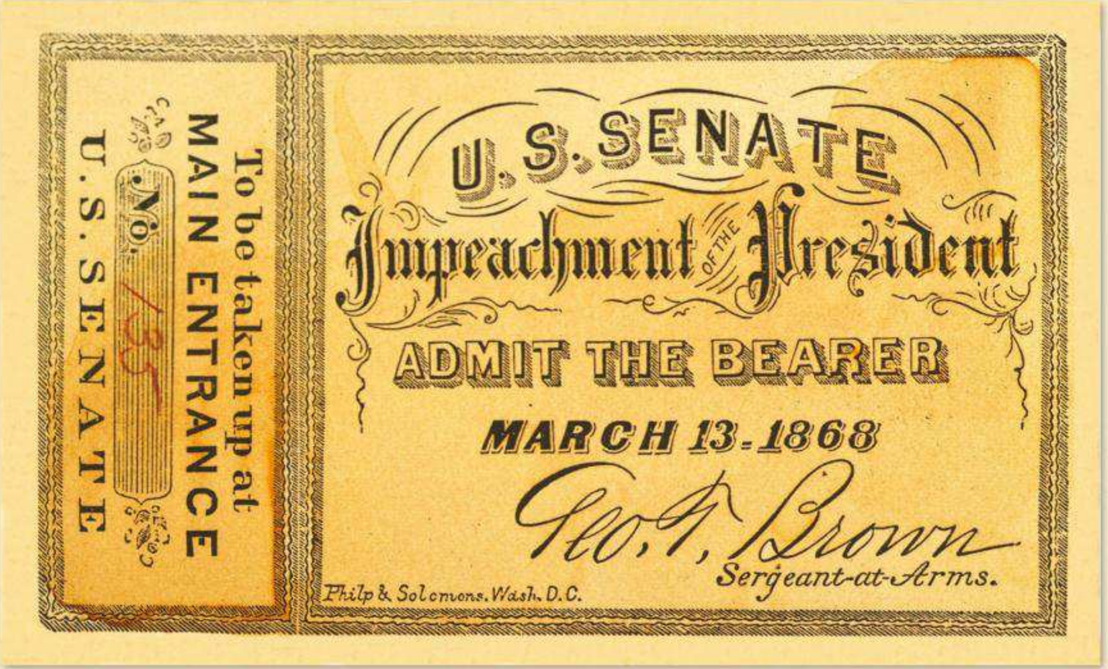
The War Powers Act now requires the president to request authority from Congress before troops are deployed, and also limits the length of deployment to sixty days with a thirty-day withdrawal period unless an extension is approved. Presidents have deployed troops several times without consulting Congress, yet no president has been censured or otherwise called to task. All presidents since 1973 have said they believe the War Powers Act is unconstitutional.



ABOVE: *Lyndon Baines Johnson is sworn in as the thirty-sixth president of the United States by Judge Sarah T. Hughes aboard Air Force One at Love Field, Dallas, following the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in 1963. Mrs. Kennedy is on the far right. Johnson was the only president to be given the oath of office by a woman.*

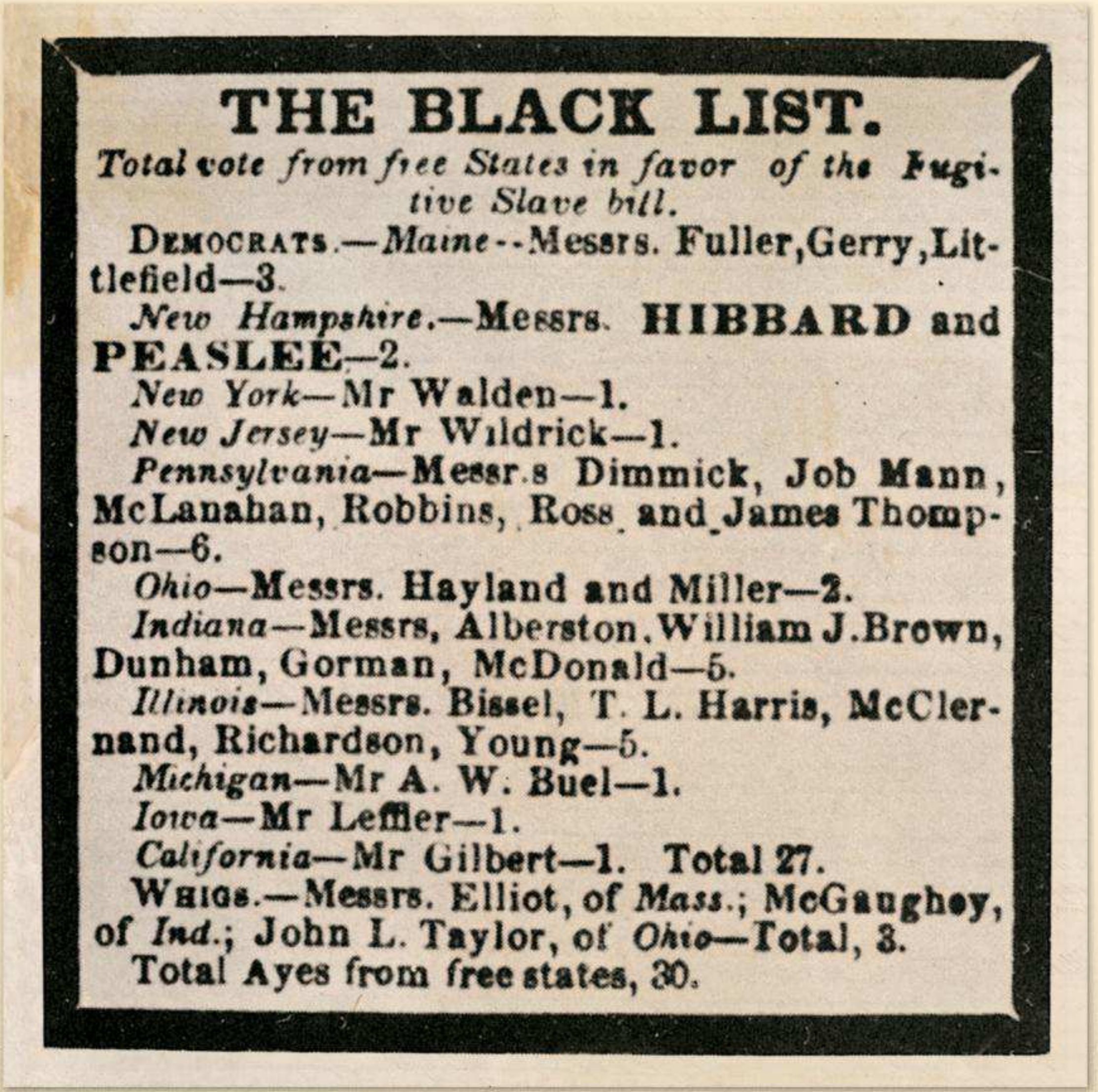
ADMISSION TICKET

RIGHT: This ticket admits one to the Senate gallery to observe the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson, which began on March 5, 1868, and lasted three months.



To be taken up at
MAIN ENTRANCE
No. 135
U. S. SENATE

U. S. SENATE
Impeachment of the President
ADMIT THE BEARER
MARCH 13-1868
Geo. T. Brown
Sergeant-at-Arms.
Philp & Solomons. Wash. D.C.



THE BLACK LIST.

Total vote from free States in favor of the Fugitive Slave bill.

DEMOCRATS.—*Maine*--Messrs. Fuller, Gerry, Littlefield—3.

New Hampshire.—Messrs. **HIBBARD** and **PEASLEE**—2.

New York—Mr Walden—1.

New Jersey—Mr Wildrick—1.

Pennsylvania—Messr.s Dimmick, Job Mann, McLanahan, Robbins, Ross and James Thompson—6.

Ohio—Messrs. Hayland and Miller—2.

Indiana—Messrs, Alberston, William J. Brown, Dunham, Gorman, McDonald—5.

Illinois—Messrs. Bissel, T. L. Harris, McClernand, Richardson, Young—5.

Michigan—Mr A. W. Buel—1.

Iowa—Mr Leffler—1.

California—Mr Gilbert—1. Total 27.

WHIGS.—Messrs. Elliot, of *Mass.*; McGaughey, of *Ind.*; John L. Taylor, of *Ohio*—Total, 3.

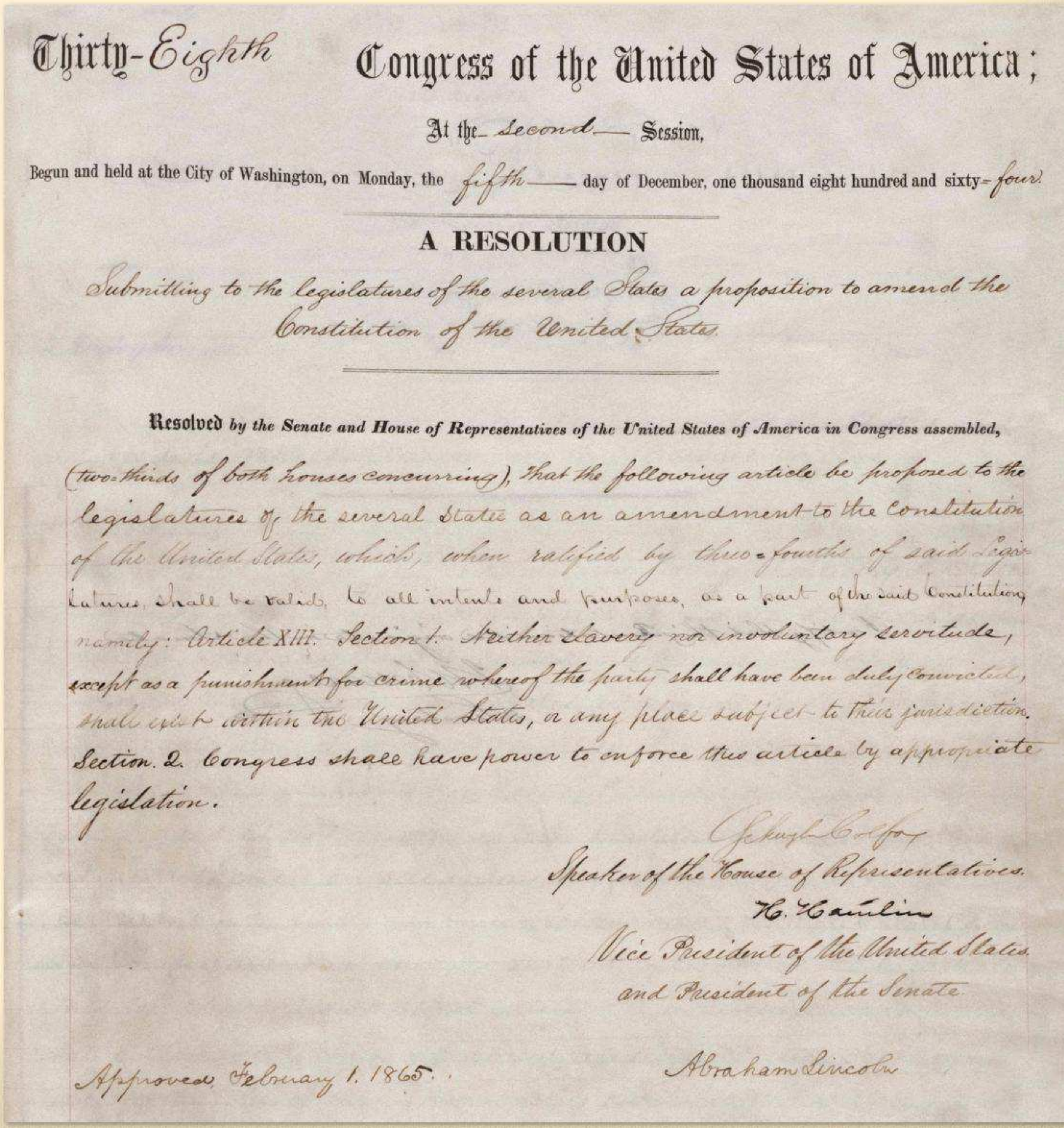
Total Ayes from free states, 30.

"THE BLACK LIST"

LEFT: A list condemning free-state congressmen who voted in favor of returning runaway slaves captured in the North to their Southern owners.

THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT

BELOW: Abraham Lincoln's final legacy, the Thirteenth Amendment, abolished slavery in the United States. The president personally signed it on February 1, 1865.



Thirty-Eighth Congress of the United States of America;

At the second Session,

Begun and held at the City of Washington, on Monday, the fifth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four.

A RESOLUTION

Submitting to the legislatures of the several States a proposition to amend the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved *by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* (two-thirds of both houses concurring), that the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as a part of the said Constitution, namely: Article XIII. Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction. Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Schuyler Colfax
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

H. Hamlin
Vice President of the United States,
and President of the Senate.

Approved, February 1. 1865.

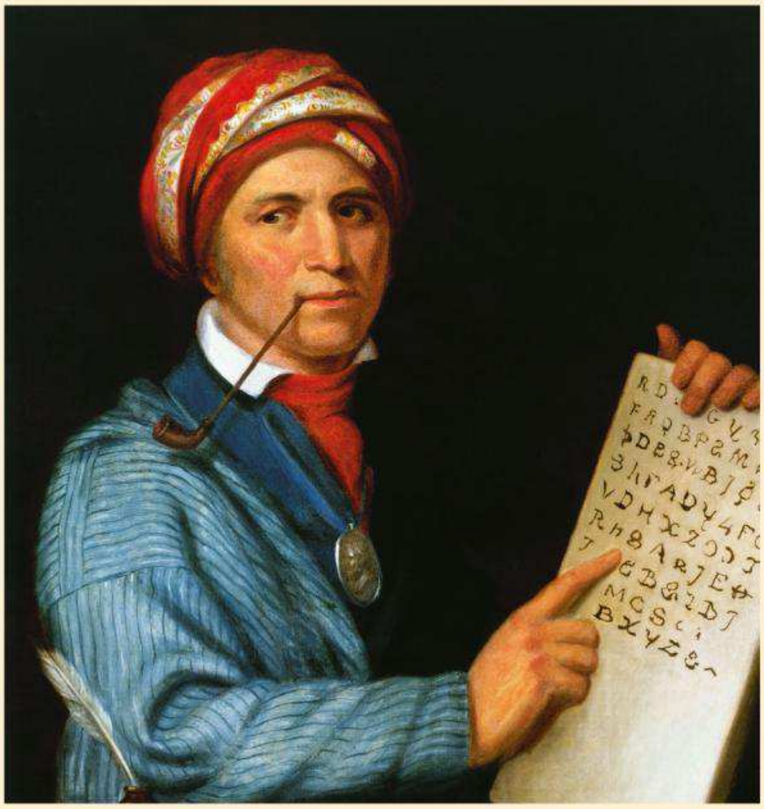
Abraham Lincoln

LEGISLATING HUMAN BONDAGE

They were called the five "Civilized Tribes," proposed in 1790 by George Washington and Secretary of War Henry Knox as models for the "cultural transformation." Washington and Knox suggested that when indigenous people (such as these) learned American customs and values, they would be able to merge those customs with their own tribal traditions and join society. They viewed this as the best possible future for Native Americans and the Anglo-European settlers of North America. While living alongside one another, these five – the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole – also simultaneously maintained their status as autonomous nations. As "civilized" peoples, many lived in houses, educated their children in U.S. schools, and wore the same clothes as their white neighbors. The Cherokee, for example, had even developed a written language and alphabet. In the 1820s, several tribally run farm communities were located throughout the "Deep South." Some even owned black slaves. Though these natives had been virtually assimilated into white society, it was argued that the lands they farmed were, all in all, too valuable to remain in their hands. This seemingly peaceful cohabitation was never meant to last. After angry debate and over the objections of legislators Daniel Webster and Davy Crockett, President Andrew Jackson urged passage of the Indian Removal Act in 1830. Crockett stormed out of the House of Representatives, yelling all the while, "I would rather be honestly damned than hypocritically immortalized! You can go to hell, I'm going to Texas!"

The Supreme Court overturned the act, claiming the Cherokee as a sovereign nation, but President Jackson challenged: "Well, (Chief Justice) John Marshall has made his decision. Now let him enforce it," suggesting the impossibility of upholding such an unpopular ruling. The Indian Removal Act was finally passed in 1831 and the "Civilized Tribes" were pried off their land, allowed to take what they could carry in wagons and on their backs, and were escorted from Georgia and other southern states toward the Indian Territory in Oklahoma and the Texas panhandle.

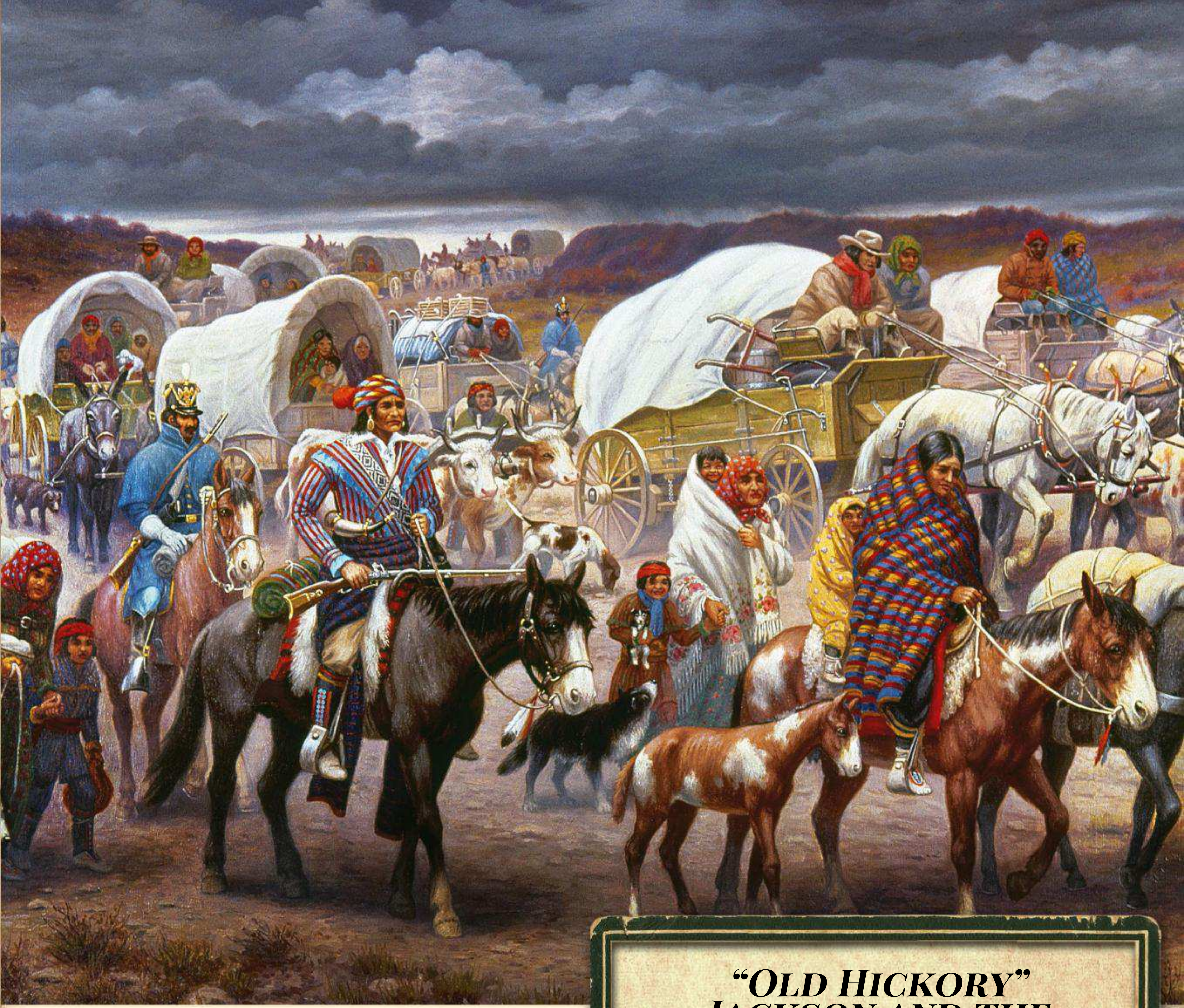
Of the 13,000 Cherokee herded west, 4,000 died of starvation, disease, and exposure. Black freedmen and European Americans who had married into the tribes also made the trek. Now dependent on the government for their subsistence, the Native Americans found their new homes in Oklahoma to be scrubland, a far cry from the rich farmsteads they had left in the Southeast. The white settlers already living in Oklahoma did not welcome their new neighbors with open arms, and soon raids and depredations by both whites and Indians began. Food, blankets, and shelter were provided by a politically motivated Indian Bureau, who short-weighted scales, sold



ABOVE RIGHT: *Cherokee Chief Sequoya (1770–1843) holding a copy of the Cherokee alphabet used for books and news materials that circulated throughout the "Civilized Tribe" that was driven off their land.*

TEXANS' SECOND TRAIL OF TEARS – CHEROKEE WAR OF 1839

The influx of so many tribes into Texas threatened to explode into racial warfare at any time. In December 1838, Governor Sam Houston left office to be replaced by Mirabeau Lamar, who referred to the Indians – all Indians – as "Wild Cannibals of the Woods." With the spirit of eradication in mind, Lamar's Texas troops conducted a two-day slaughter on July 15 and 16, called the Cherokee War of 1839. They burned villages and killed every Native American they could find, including women and children: Cherokees, Delawares, Shawnees, Cados, Kickapoos, Creeks, Seminoles, and Comanches. No prisoners were taken. The fleeing survivors escaped north into Oklahoma.



cheap trade goods, and stocked their stores with watered whiskey. They filled their pockets with the unspent government funds and ignored the tribes' pleas for the seed corn, cattle, horses, and farm implements that they desperately needed.

By the end of the forced migration, 46,000 Native Americans had been transplanted, throwing open twenty-five million acres of Georgia plantation land to new white settlement. The movement ended around 1838. In Texas, Governor Sam Houston managed to pacify most of the tribes and yet the segregation and isolation of the Native Americans would continue well into the 20th Century. By this time, the tribes had discovered the oil reserve riches beneath their scrubland and found entertainment and income in the glitz and glitter of legal, tribe-owned gambling casinos.

ABOVE: *The removal of the Cherokee along with five other tribes in 1838 from their lands in the East to reservations in the West by an act of Congress. Thousands died during the long trek to the Indian Territory.*

"OLD HICKORY" JACKSON AND THE INDIANS

Hickory is a hard wood, and Andrew Jackson was a hard man of action, quick to take offense, to exact punishment, and to intimidate anyone who opposed him. As the seventh president of the United States (1829-1837), he carried with him his victories against the British in the Battle of New Orleans in 1815 and the bloody swath he cut through central Florida in pursuit of the Seminole Indians who were allied with British interests at the time. His aggressive brush with these "savages" motivated his endorsement of the Indian Removal Act of 1830. He came into politics – virtually creating the modern Democratic Party – as a wealthy southern slave holder. He was a populist who used the spoils system – throwing open former Indian lands to his voter base of white settlers and speculators – to buy the loyalty of his cronies.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT

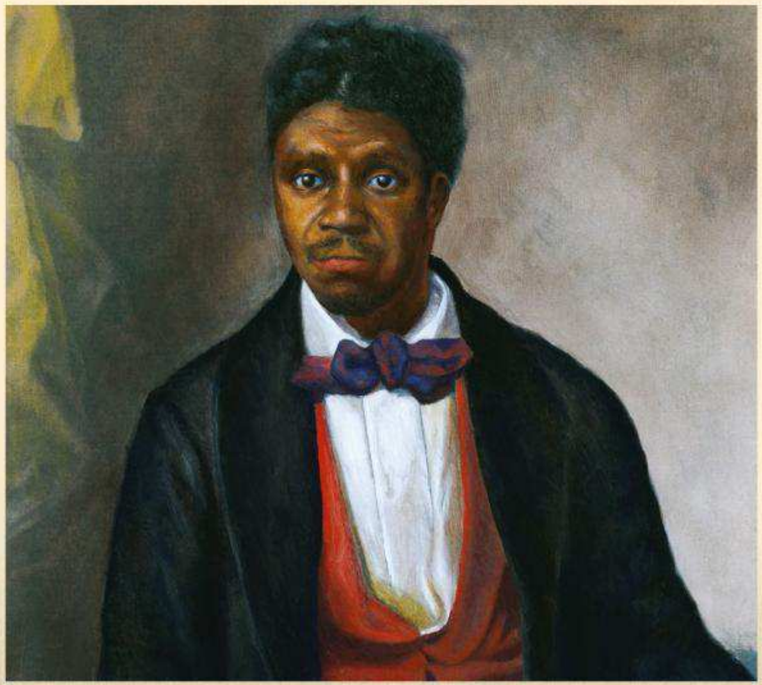
Slavery dominated politics, the economy, and was an eroding force in American society from the colonial era to the late 19th Century. It continued to taint much of the United States' identity through the 20th as well. But the friction between free and slave interests began striking sparks in the mid-19th Century. Ever-increasing awareness of the entrenched cruelty and inherent contradiction of legal, commercialized human bondage in a country founded upon lofty ideals concerning basic, individual human rights fostered an aggressive and growing force for abolition. Though northern industries made profits off the products harvested and processed by unpaid slaves, religious and social organizations sought freedom for the millions bound to the southern plantations, fields, and mills. Their objections, however, ran counter to the U.S. Constitution as it was originally conceived – in an atmosphere of political compromise. At the time of its drafting, southern ratification was necessary and so the Fugitive Slave Clause of 1793 was written into the Constitution to enforce Article 4, Section 2 as Clause 3, which stated:

> That when a person held to labor in any of the United States, or in either of the Territories on the Northwest or South of the river Ohio, under the laws thereof, shall escape into any other part of the said States or Territory, the person to whom such labor or service may be due, his agent or attorney, is hereby empowered to seize or arrest such fugitive from labor, and to take him or her before any Judge of the Circuit or District Courts of the United States ... that the person so seized or arrested, doth, under the laws of the State or Territory from which he or she fled, owe service or labor to the person claiming him or her, it shall be the duty of such Judge or magistrate to give a certificate thereof to such claimant, his agent, or attorney, which shall be sufficient warrant for removing the said fugitive from labor to the State or Territory from which he or she fled.

Many of the northern states passed local "personal liberty" laws that circumvented this federal legislation, refused the use of state-owned jail facilities to hold suspected runaways, and/or juries simply failed to indict any black brought before them in state-mandated trials. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1842 that "states did not have to aid in hunting or recapture of slaves." "Free Staters" sent

DRED SCOTT DECISION IGNITES SHAME

Dred Scott was a freed slave who had lived in Illinois and Wisconsin. He moved to Missouri, a divided slave "free soil" state. In 1857, he was arrested as a runaway slave and held without trial, in accordance with the Fugitive Slave Act, on the grounds that, given his former slave master was dead, he could not prove he was free. His case was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, where Chief Justice Roger Taney declared that "all blacks – slaves as well as free – were not and could never become citizens of the United States." He went on to declare the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional, thereby permitting slavery in all the United States territories. Since Scott was black, he was not a citizen and therefore had no right to sue. Taney further claimed, "the framers of the Constitution believed that blacks 'had no rights which the white man was bound to respect.' [Blacks could be] bought and sold and treated as an ordinary article of merchandise and traffic, whenever profit could be made by it."After the case was closed, the sons of Scott's former master bought him as well as his wife and set them free. He died nine months later.



RIGHT: *Dred Scott (1799–1858) filed suit for his freedom in 1857 after he was transported to a free state. The Supreme Court ruled that he could not sue since he had "no rights which any white man was bound to respect." Scott was purchased by a free-state family and freed.*

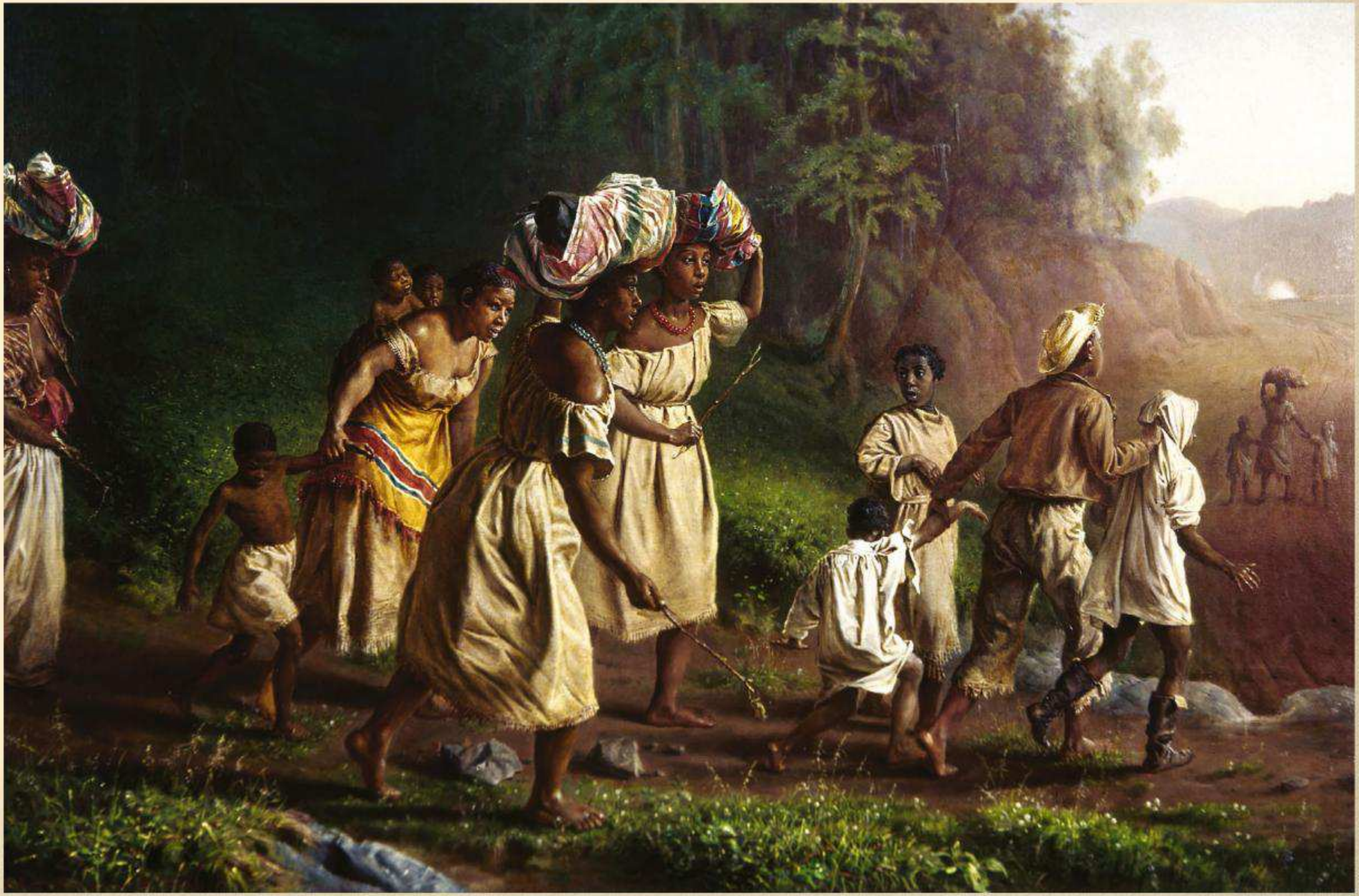
operatives into the South to encourage runaways and created the renowned Underground Railroad of hidden trails and safe houses designed to elude slave-catchers and their bloodhound dogs. Slave-catching became a lucrative business for the bounties of significant cash offered for each slave returned. Recaptured slaves were often beaten, had their Achilles tendon slashed, or were forced to wear an iron collar by their owners both as punishment and to discourage any future attempts to escape.

To greater fortify this system of slave retrieval, the Missouri Compromise of 1850 had, based on the 1793 clause, a definitive Fugitive Slave Act written in. Besides strengthening the original clause, the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 demanded any federal law officer who did not arrest an alleged runaway be liable to a $1,000 fine (equivalent to approximately $26,000 in today's currency). Suspected slaves were not permitted to request a jury trial or allowed to testify on their own behalf, and any person who aided a runaway slave was subject to six months in prison and a $1,000 fine. These penalties were openly flaunted. An example occurred in Oberlin, Ohio, in 1858, when thirty-seven people helped an escaped slave and were indicted. Only two served any jail time.

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN

Harriet Beecher Stowe was a Connecticut teacher who had attended the Hartford Female Academy. She was also an ardent abolitionist and deeply affected by the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act. In 1852, she wrote a book based on the reminiscences of an ex-slave living in Canada. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was about this old slave, who was loyal to his owners, and the trials and tribulations of the people around him. Stereotypes abide and sentimentality soaks through the pages, but in the vernacular of the day her writing forced an examination of slavery at a human level. It first ran as a magazine serial, and then the book's first edition sold 300,000 copies. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* became a runaway best-seller and ultimately one of the most widely read publications of the century. Abraham Lincoln met Stowe near the beginning of the Civil War and the story goes that, when the two were introduced, he said, "So this is the little lady who started this great war."

BELOW: *Following the war, a flood of freed slaves crossed through Union army lines from their southern states looking for work, homes, and education in the North without fear of being captured and dragged back to their masters' plantations.*



THE CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT & JAPANESE INTERNMENT

Unlike the out-and-out slavery of the Deep South, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was its own version of extreme racial discrimination. At a time in U.S. history when the country's growth and opportunities were outstripping the population's ability to extract the available bounty, three solutions arrived. Each provided a massive influx of the cheap labor power needed to grow the country's infrastructure. In the South, up to the year 1820, slaves had been kidnapped from Africa and sold like cattle to plantation owners. In the East, thousands of Irish were fleeing the potato famine and those who survived the ocean crossing arrived poor but eager to work. On the West Coast, the 1849 gold rush brought an explosion of commerce; strong hands and strong backs were much in demand. Thousands of Chinese emigrated to the coasts of California and the Northwest. As the gold rush petered out circa 1869, construction began on the transcontinental railroad. Its eastern leg, contracted to the Union Pacific Railroad, was worked by Irish, African American, and Eastern European laborers. They were to be met at some point by the Central Pacific Railway coming from the west, built mostly by the burgeoning California Chinese population, which had become the predominant immigrant population in the region.

At the conclusion of the post–Civil War period, construction began to wane and many mines were closed. As labor demand shrank, the Chinese became viewed as a burden on the labor market. Although they worked for very low wages, were conscientious, plentiful, and cheap to house (most were males recruited from China exclusively to work, not to settle in with families), Congress closed immigration to the Chinese by 1878. President Hayes vetoed that attempted legislation, but the Chinese Exclusion Act finally passed in 1882. Now, this huge labor pool faced the choice of remaining and enduring racial mistreatment by competing white workers who claimed the "coolies" caused depressed wages, or returning to impoverished China. The Chinese who remained settled into enclaves in major West Coast cities (Chinatowns), frequently establishing restaurant and laundry businesses.

For Chinese immigrants, creating families was challenging given that the exclusion was primarily aimed at women. At that time, Chinese women were considered quite exotic, and many new arrivals were presumed by white society to be prostitutes. Chinese custom also kept married women at home to serve their parents until sent for by their husbands. Ironically, smuggling actual Chinese prostitutes into California and West Coast cities for long-suffering Chinese males in the U.S. became a thriving business.

RIGHT: *A Chinese family waits on a street corner in San Francisco's Chinatown. Throughout California and the West Coast, Chinese immigrants gathered together in enclaves for economic and social survival and to avoid racial friction with white citizens.*

The hardest blow for existing immigrants was the Exclusion Act of 1882, which proclaimed a ten-year limit on the suspension of Chinese immigration. Even if they wished to, they were now unable to unite families, and those in the States had little hope of returning to mainland China in their lifetime. In reality, this act remained in force much longer; it was not repealed until the Magnuson Act on December 17, 1943.

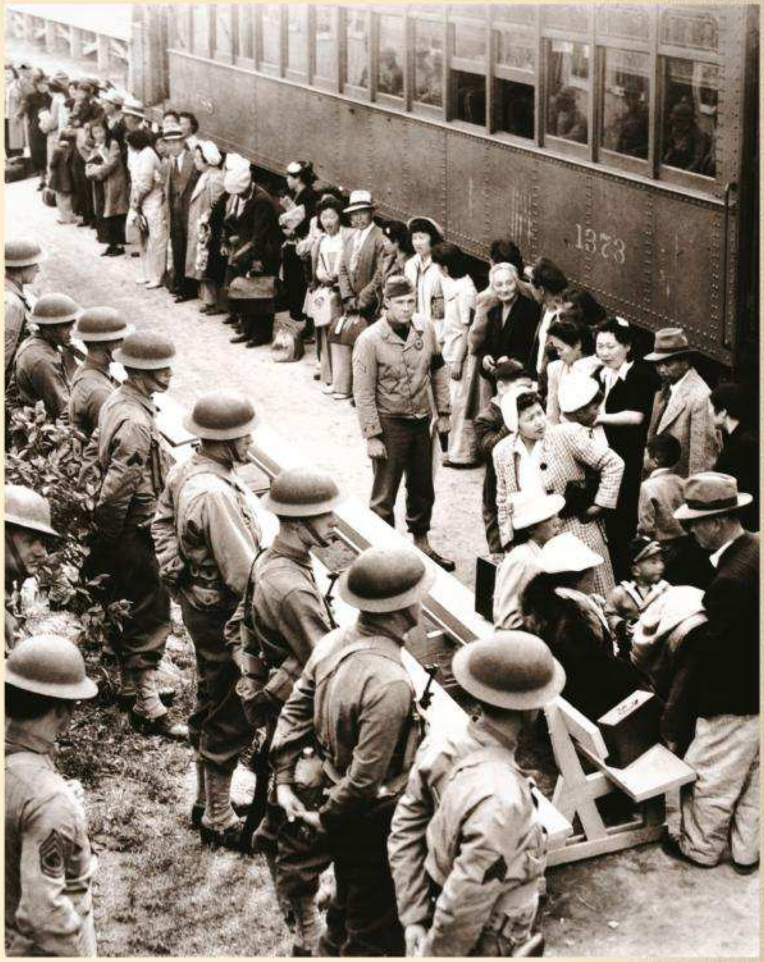
On December 7, 1941, Japan attacked the U.S. Naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, with an aircraft carrier strike force of torpedo planes, dive bombers, and fighter aircraft. Surprise was complete as was the almost total devastation of the U.S. Navy battleship fleet. At the same time the attack force was closing in on the Hawaiian Island naval base, Japanese diplomats were conducting peace talks with Cordell Hull, the Secretary of State in Washington. No declaration of war by the Japanese was made prior to the attack due to a clerical translation error. When told of the error in timing, the architect of the attack, Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, is reported to have said, "We have awakened a sleeping giant."

Awakened, the Depression-weary Americans shook off their exhausted torpor and headed for military recruiting depots, for industrial plants switching over to war production, and to the task of civil defense in case the attacks approached their homeland. They also began to look quite differently into the faces of the 112,000 Japanese-Americans who were living alongside them as neighbors and fellow citizens. The military generals were unnerved. They had seen both the Pearl Harbor Navy and Army commanders stripped of their commands prior to court martial. These weren't like the Germans or the Italians the U.S. was now committed to fight in Europe, enemies who looked "just like us." These were "Japs" who were ready to betray Americans just as their spies did at Pearl Harbor. These were the "Mongolians" who already infested the West Coast with their truck farms and businesses, taking away jobs from natural-born Americans since the turn of the century. Panic mixed with racial prejudice, and a need to retaliate was in the air.

Two months after the attack, with Japanese forces sweeping over bases in the Pacific, sinking ships and crushing U.S. allies, Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 – under Constitution-provided emergency powers – on February 19, 1942, allowing local military commanders to designate "exclusion zones" from which any person could be expelled, and all people of Japanese ancestry were instantly "excluded" from the entire California, Oregon, and Washington coast and from the state of Arizona. The constitutionality of this order was upheld by the Supreme Court two years later (1944), and the United States Census Bureau secretly turned over its records to pinpoint the homes of Japanese residents to military and police "Jap hunters." (This was denied but later proved in a 2007 investigation.)

Japanese-Americans of all generations were swept up into internment camps guarded by troops and barbed wire, losing their homes, businesses, and civil rights for the duration of the war. The camps were all located in most of the states east of the Rocky Mountains and west of the Mississippi River and provided with minimum necessities, running water, sanitation facilities, and education for children.

In 1980, an investigation into the wartime relocation and internment was called for by President Jimmy Carter. A presidential commission recommended reparation payments of $20,000 to each camp survivor. In 1988, Congress passed legislation which apologized and claimed government actions were based on "race prejudice, war hysteria, and failure of political leadership." Altogether $1.6 billion was paid out to internees and their heirs.

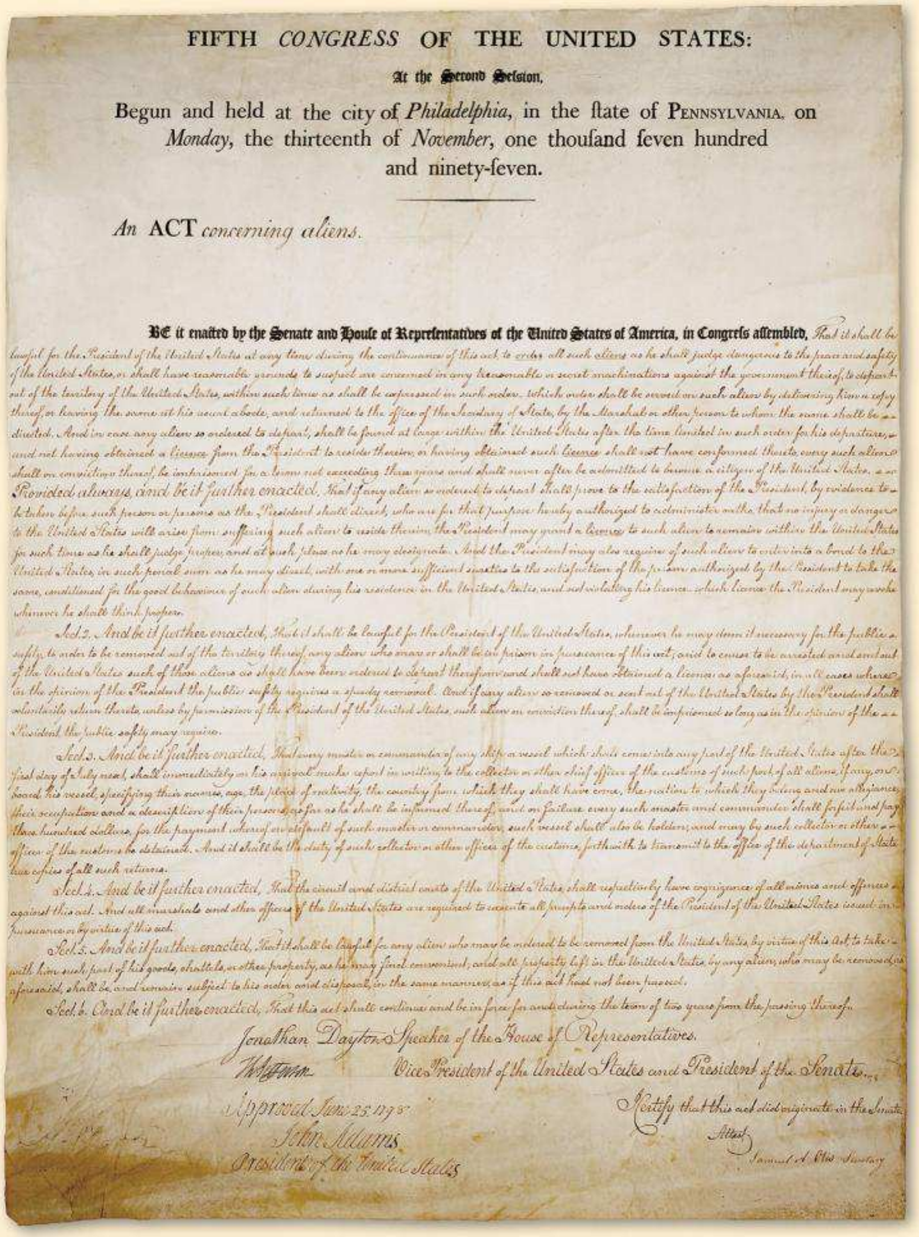


RIGHT: *On April 4, 1942, Japanese citizens of the United States line up to board a train to their internment camp at the Santa Anita Racetrack in California. All Japanese Americans were "excluded" from West Coast homes and businesses, to be interned under guard for the war's duration.*

RACIAL EXCLUSION CONTINUES – IMMIGRATION ACT OF 1924

As if the Exclusion Act of 1882 wasn't tough enough for Chinese working hard to make a place for themselves and their culture in the United States, the Immigration Act of 1924 doubled down by excluding all classes of Chinese immigrants, and then extending even more restrictions to additional Asian groups. Nowhere in these draconian acts did Congress address the true underlying conflicts: labor competition that white workers were experiencing due to the influx of cheap, immigrant laborers. In the wake of the shunned Chinese, immigrant Japanese quickly filled in the cheap labor gap. Through dint of hard work they had greater good fortune assimilating than their Asian neighbors. The Japanese avoided isolationist enclaves, reaching into American society through education and long work hours, learning to adapt and integrate into the established white society.

LEGISLATING MORALITY



FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

At the Second Seſsion,

Begun and held at the city of *Philadelphia*, in the ſtate of Pennsylvania, on *Monday*, the thirteenth of *November*, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-ſeven.

An ACT *concerning aliens.*

BE it enacted by the Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives of the United States of America, in Congreſs aſſembled,

ABOVE: *A copy of the Aliens Act, one of four Alien and Sedition Acts passed by Congress in rapid succession in 1798, when war with France was imminent and President John Adams feared internal strife might cause a breakdown in society.*

War with France, a former ally, seemed imminent. The Federalist Congress and their champion, President John Adams, feared internal conflicts within our new government as minority congressmen rose to speak against his policies and his "imperial" style that stifled freedom of dissent. Specifically, the Federalists considered any civilian protest which ran counter to holding the Union together in a time of potential war to be treasonous. In response to this internal threat, a series of four laws – the Alien and Sedition Acts – were speedily pushed through Congress and signed by Adams.

To halt the rush of immigrants, particularly "hordes of Wild Irishmen, nor the turbulent and disorderly of all the world, to come here with a basic view to distract our tranquility," the Naturalization Act was passed on June 18, 1798. The required time of residence in the U.S. was extended from five to fourteen years before becoming eligible for citizenship. Not surprisingly, this core of non-English naturalized citizens had been staunch supporters of the Federalist opposition, Jefferson's Democratic Republicans, in the election of 1796. This influx of foreign-born citizens helped to further establish the fledgling two-party system of government that persists to this day.

Following the Naturalization Act, on June 25, the Alien Act gave the president power to deport undesirable aliens during peacetime. The government began drawing up lists of these aliens and a number of aliens fled the country, but President Adams never signed an official deportation order.

The Alien Enemies Act was third to pass on July 6 and covered the arrest, imprisonment, or deportation of any alien during wartime who owed allegiance to a foreign power.

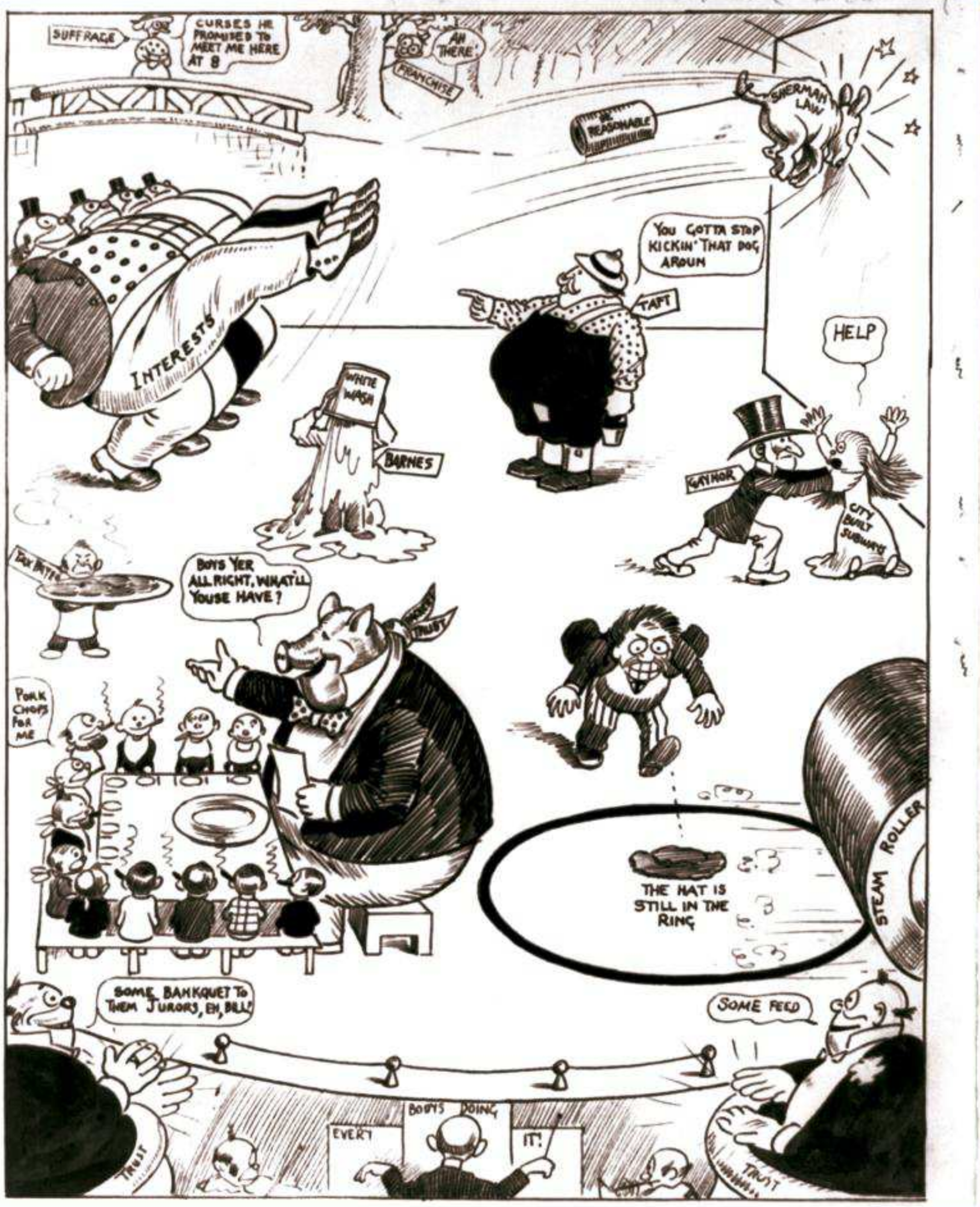
The fourth law, passed on July 14, was the Sedition Act, which collided head-on with the Constitution's Bill of Rights. It declared that "any treasonable activity, including those who 'write, print, utter, or publish . . . any false, scandalous and malicious writing' against the government were guilty of high misdemeanor, punishable by fine and imprisonment." The ink was barely dry when Democratic Republican newspapers were shut down and twenty-five lawbreakers, mostly editors, were jailed.

The public outcry was so great and prolonged that Thomas Jefferson, John Adams's adversary in his run for a second term, was readily swept into office in 1800 and an era of retraction ensued. Everyone convicted under the Sedition Act was pardoned and all fines were returned with interest.

A law to regulate competition was enacted in response to the Standard Oil Trust. A financial trust exists when stockholders in several companies in the same industry transfer their shares to a single set of trustees. The stockholders then receive certificates entitling them to shares of the combined holdings of the jointly managed companies.

The trustees apportion out the dividends to the shareholders from the profits sent to the trust from the collective of companies. In that industry, prices and costs are fixed to maximize profits and kill competition. The Standard Oil Trust was established by Rockefeller in 1882 and every stockholder received twenty trust certificates for each share of Standard Oil Stock. The trust had selected all the directors and officers of the participating companies, creating an oil monopoly with which no oil company could compete. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890 – named after Senator John Sherman of Ohio, a chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and the Secretary of the Treasury under President Hayes – was designed to dissolve these trusts. In Standard Oil's case: Sonoco, Esso, Chevron, and many "Standard Oil of (Name the State)" companies spun away from the parent.

By the time President Theodore Roosevelt came along at the turn of the 20th Century, the Supreme Court had already weakened the loosely worded Sherman Act. Specifically, in the case of United States vs. E. C. Knight Company it was shown that even though Knight controlled 98 percent of sugar refining in the U.S., it had violated no law. Despite this setback, Roosevelt became feared for his "trustbusting,". The act was used against companies such as Northern Securities, American Tobacco, and, 100 years later, against the modern-day technology giant, Microsoft Corporation.


SUFFRAGE
CURSES HE PROMISED TO MEET ME HERE AT 8
AH THERE
FRANCHISE
BE REASONABLE
SHERMAN LAW
INTERESTS
YOU GOTTA STOP KICKIN' THAT DOG AROUN
TAFT
HELP
WHITE WASH
BARNES
GAYNOR
CITY BUILT SUBWAYS
BOYS YER ALL RIGHT, WHAT'LL YOUSE HAVE?
TRUST
PORK CHOPS FOR ME
THE HAT IS STILL IN THE RING
STEAM ROLLER
SOME BANKQUET TO THEM JURORS, EH, BILL!
SOME FEED
EVERY
BODYS DOING
IT!
TRUST
TRUST

RIGHT: *A cartoon published in the New York American on March 30, 1912, titled "Everybody's Doing It" (after an Irving Berlin song) and depicting several elements dealing with lawbreakers battling for their trusts and lawmakers fighting against the monopolies.*

FEDERAL PANIC – FAR-REACHING CONSEQUENCES

James Madison, an early champion, along with John Adams, of a strong central government, had a change of heart over the power of national authoritarian rule. He helped Kentucky legislators justify the ascendancy of states' rights over federal law. Along with Thomas Jefferson, he secretly wrote the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions supporting states' rights. They declared the federal union to be a "voluntary association of states," and if the federal government went too far, each state had the right to nullify that law. This argument appeared to give constitutional standing to the secession of the southern states from the Union, so much so that in 1830–31 they quoted Madison in their justifications. In fear that his nullification support would undermine the Union, Madison publicly declared that all the states had transferred their sovereignty to the federal government at the time the Constitution was ratified.

Nothing could sway the southern states' resolve and in 1861 South Carolina became the first state to officially secede from the Union. So began the Civil War.

PROHIBITION

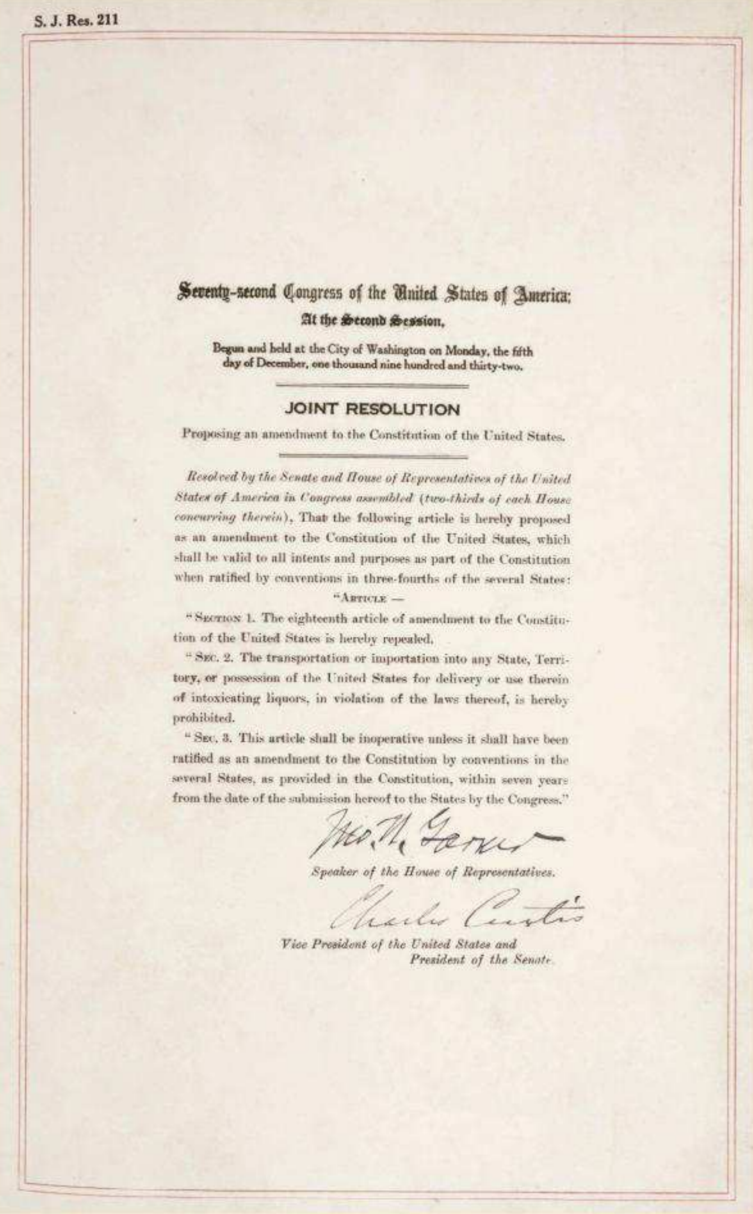
When our soldiers returned in 1919 from World War I in France, they came off the troop ships to a country where, by the end of that year, it would be illegal to buy a mug of beer at their neighborhood saloon. First appearing in the 1820s, a campaign of religious revivalism proclaiming that alcohol addiction was "destroying American lives and values" had been gathering steam and political support. The voting power of the Anti-Saloon League and crowds of rural Protestants saw to the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution on January 29, 1919, which "prohibited the manufacturing, transportation and sale of alcohol within the United States." Twenty-three of the forty-eight states had already passed "dry" laws by 1916 and their representatives had won a two-thirds majority in Congress. To help with the enforcement of the amendment, a new "enabling" law, the Volstead Act – named after its sponsor, Representative Andrew J. Volstead of Minnesota – was passed.

President Woodrow Wilson immediately vetoed the act, but the veto was then overridden by Congress that same day. The day after Prohibition took effect, portable home-size stills went on sale around the country, reproductions of George Washington's recipe for beer in his own handwriting went up on kitchen walls, and people who had never taken a drink scrubbed their bathtubs clean to make gin.

A police officer in a rural Chicago suburb claimed that "just driving down a block of houses in some neighborhoods with your

ABOVE: *Whiskey barrels are lined up at the curb in a publicity photograph of 1925 showing a local politician dumping alcohol from busted barrels into the sewer, enforcing the Prohibition law.*

BELOW: *The repeal of Prohibition by President Roosevelt in 1933 with the Twenty-first Amendment brought smiles to the faces of these drinkers who line up for a photograph touting the return of the alcohol industries and the freedom to take a drink without breaking the law.*



S. J. Res. 211

Seventy-second Congress of the United States of America;
At the Second Session,

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the fifth day of December, one thousand nine hundred and thirty-two.

JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by conventions in three-fourths of the several States:

"Article —

"Section 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

"Sec. 2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

"Sec. 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress."

Jno. N. Garner

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Charles Curtis

Vice President of the United States and
President of the Senate.

ABOVE: *Page 1 of a joint resolution proposed for consideration of Congress on December 5, 1932, that the Eighteenth Amendment (Prohibition) be repealed by the Twenty-first Amendment – the only example of this constitutional rectification.*

INTERPRETING THE VOLSTEAD ACT – NEW YORK DAILY NEWS

The actual length of the Eighteenth Amendment was only 111 words. By comparison, the Volstead Act, which in fact explained the amendment, consumed twenty-five pages. As a public service, the New York Daily News interpreted the act for their readers as follows:

- **You may drink intoxicating liquor in your own home or in the home of a friend when you are a bona fide guest.**
- **You may buy intoxicating liquor on a bona fide medical prescription of a doctor. A pint can be bought every ten days.**
- **You may consider any place you live permanently as your home. If you have more than one home, you may keep a stock of liquor in each.**
- **You may keep liquor in any storage room or club locker, provided the storage place is for the exclusive use of yourself, family or bona fide guests.**
- **You may get a permit to move liquor when you change your place of residence.**
- **You may manufacture, sell or transport liquor for non-beverage or sacramental purposes provided you obtain a government permit.**
- **You cannot carry a hip flask.**
- **You cannot give away or receive a bottle of liquor as a gift.**
- **You cannot take liquor to hotels or restaurants and drink it in the public dining room.**
- **You cannot buy or sell formulas or recipes for any homemade liquors.**
- **You cannot ship liquor for beverage use.**
- **You cannot store liquor in any place except your own home.**
- **You cannot manufacture anything above one half of one percent (liquor strength) in your home.**
- **You cannot display liquor signs or advertisements anywhere on your premises.**
- **You cannot remove reserve stocks from storage.**

car windows open could make you dizzy from the smell of cooking whiskey mash." Anyone wanting a drink frequented saloons called "speakeasies" opened "for members only" while less particular establishments called "blind pigs" catered to the working man drinking dubious alcoholic beverages from coffee cups.

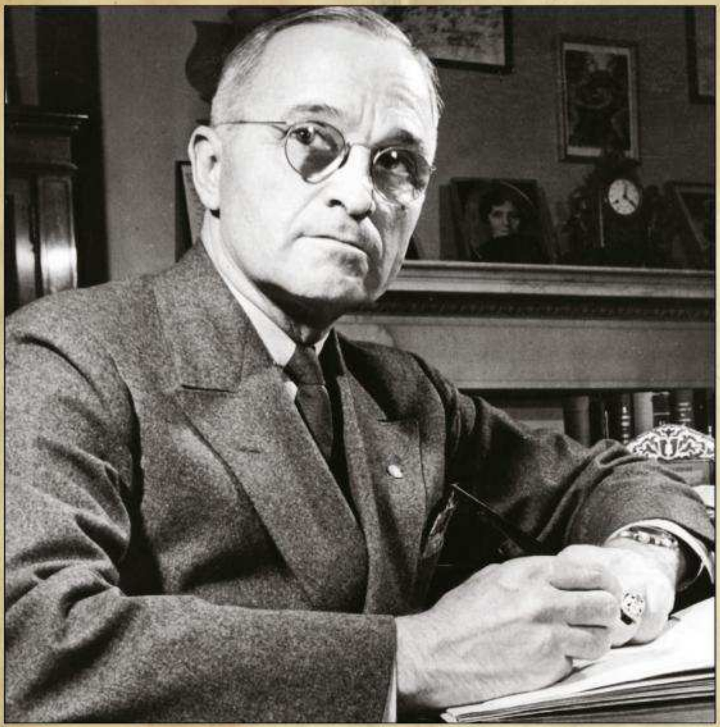
Criminals who had been content with extortion, hold-ups, smash-and-grab thefts, prostitution, and gambling for income embraced beer and whiskey manufacturing, sales, and distribution. They carved up big cities and rural counties into "territories," maintaining customer-buying motivation with Thompson submachine guns and black powder bombs. Criminal elements that had been scattered and entrepreneurial were now acquiring business skills and becoming organized, reaping huge profits amid short life spans. Breaking the Prohibition law became a commonplace if not grassroots culture. Even President Warren Harding had a full-time White House "bootlegger" to supply the offices and Executive Mansion with illegal alcohol for guests and weekly poker parties. Enforcement was impossible and the health effects of poorly distilled alcohol were disastrous. Citizens were being blinded, internal organs were rotting out, and by 1932 the country was worn down by a gripping depression that had not only destroyed the economy but littered the streets with nefarious dead gangsters.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt promised a "New Deal" and was elected president. One of his first acts during his term as chief executive was to set the gears in motion to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment with the Twenty-first Amendment, which came to pass on December 5, 1933.

DESEGREGATION OF THE MILITARY

Ever since the 54th Massachusetts Infantry fixed their bayonets and charged across the open sands of Morris Island, South Carolina, into the blazing guns of Confederate Fort Wagner on July 18, 1863, the African American soldier's ability and desire to fight bravely has never been in question. The combat glory won by those freshly minted Union troops was passed on to the Buffalo soldiers of the 10th Cavalry who patrolled the West in the 1870s and 1880s, battling Apaches, Comanche, Sioux, and other great Native American tribes. Black army regulars followed Teddy Roosevelt and his Rough Riders up San Juan Hill in the 1898 Spanish-American War. In World War II, the Tuskegee Airmen of the 332nd Fighter Group escorted B-17 bombers over Europe. They never lost a Flying Fortress to enemy aircraft. The red-painted tails of their P-51 Mustang fighters became "Red-Tailed Angels" to the bomber pilots.

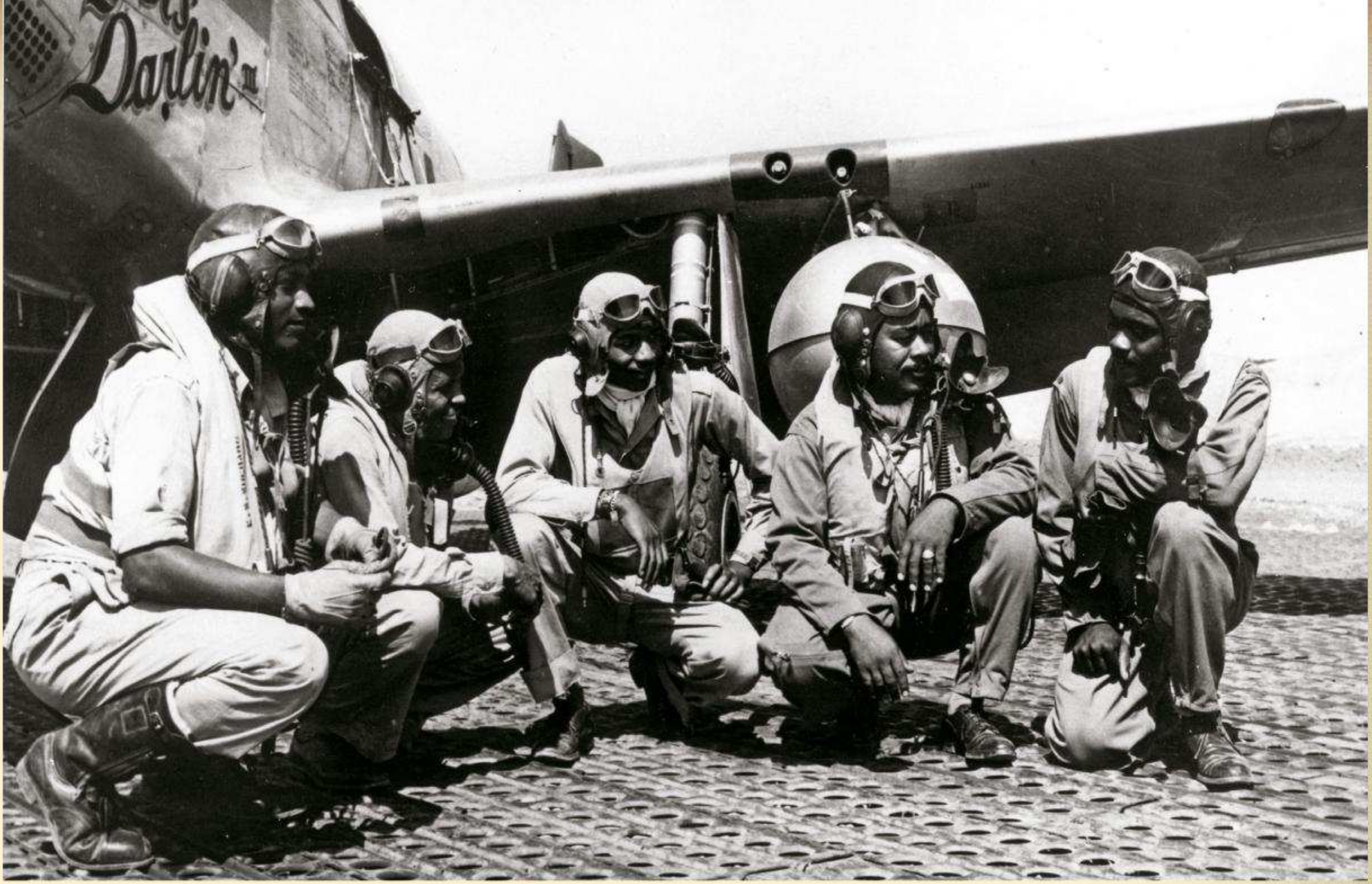
Time and again, African American soldiers had proved themselves worthy, but the military remained segregated. Black units drove trucks, worked at maintenance jobs, unloaded supplies, cooked mess hall meals, and made sure the officers' shirts were pressed. In combat,



REVISITING MILITARY RACE RELATIONS

On January 12, 1949, President Truman called together members of his Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Forces, chaired by Charles H. Fahy. The committee was tasked with determining the concerns of the military leaders in regards to his executive order. Leaders from the Army and Marine Corps supported their policies of segregation. Black soldiers went to all-black units. The Navy, which had used blacks primarily as cabin stewards and mess deck sailors, said they would follow the order. The United States Air Force also announced their willingness to comply. The Marine Corps roster noted that of their 8,200 officers, only one was black.

LEFT: *On July 26, 1948, President Harry S. Truman wrote the executive order desegregating the military, giving all races an equal chance when it came to training, promotion and benefits.*



black units were mostly led by white officers. Advancement into the officer ranks was extremely difficult for black enlisted men.

It took a man from Missouri to "emancipate" the military. President Harry S. Truman, who rose to the office as thirty-third president from the office of vice president following the death of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, turned to his constitutional powers on July 26, 1948, and signed Executive Order 9981, which established equal treatment and opportunity in all the armed forces regardless of race or color.

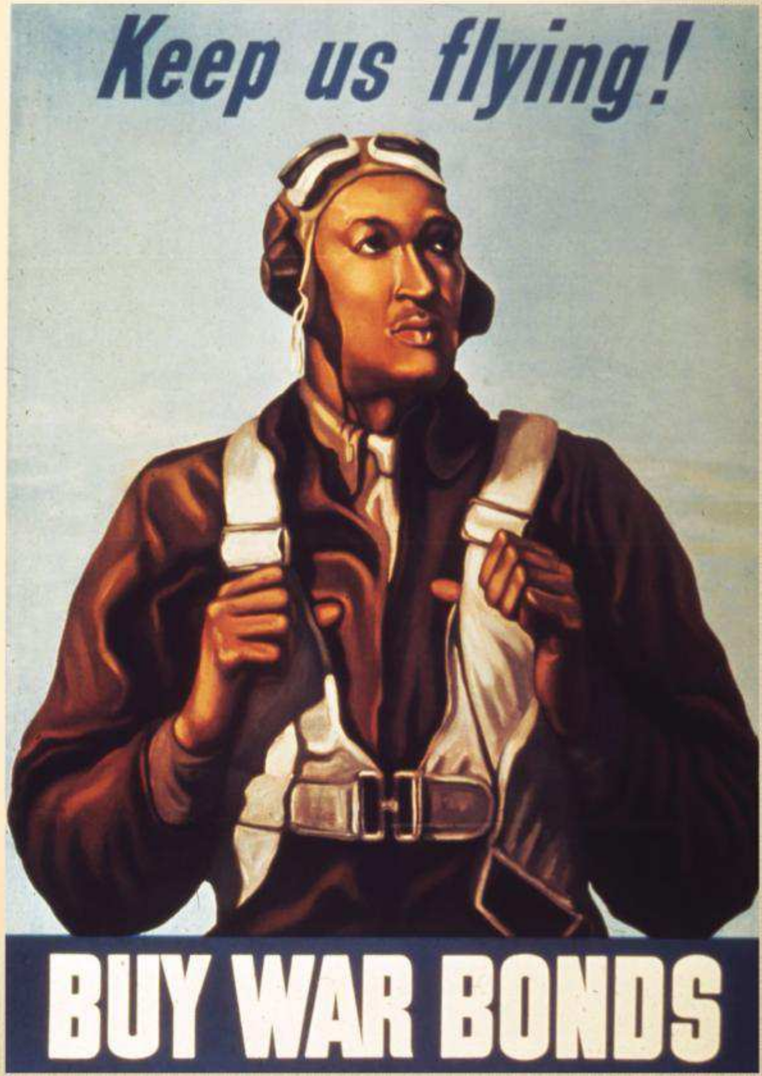
From the Pentagon's point of view, the 1950s and early 1960s represented a calm period in race relations. Truman's executive order had brought blacks into the military mainstream and the cultural upheavals of the mid and late 1960s provided the impetus for some measure of real equality. Increasing activism of the civil rights movement, and the widening of the Vietnam War, led to more wrenching change.

Decades would pass before the armed forces became completely color-blind, but the door had been opened and the question that never should have been asked was now answered. All men truly are created equal.

OPPOSITE TOP: *Part of a racially integrated squad of U.S. Marines running to defend Tan Son Nhut air base on April 25, 1975, during evacuation of Americans from Vietnam.*

ABOVE: *Tuskegee Airmen in August 1944 next to one of their P-51 fighter planes. Escorting bombers to targets over Italy, they never lost a Flying Fortress to enemy fighter aircraft, winning the confidence of the white pilots with whom they flew.*

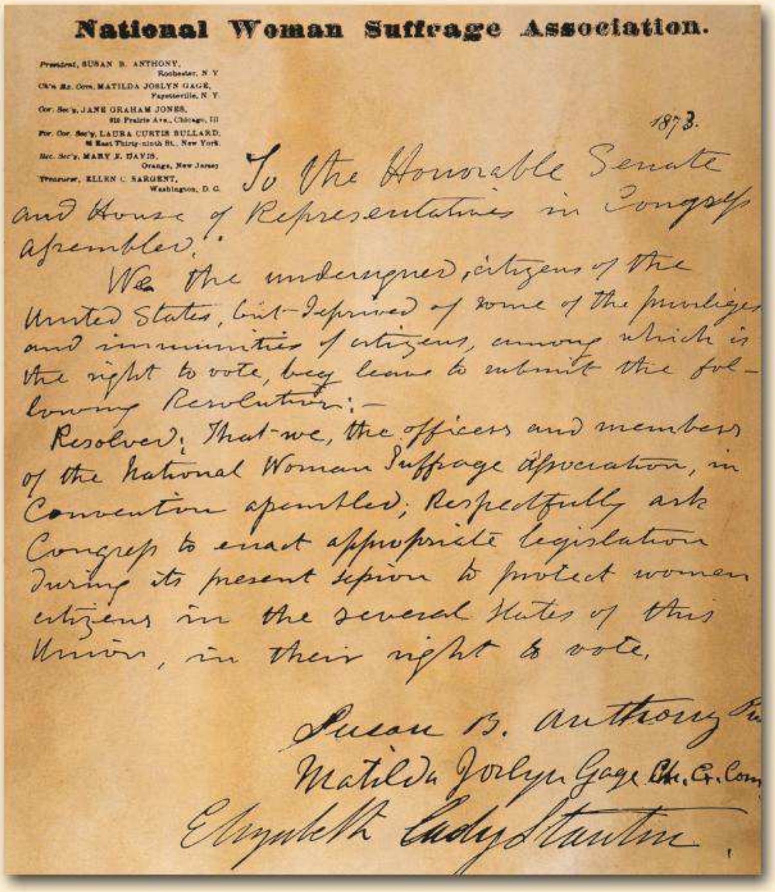
RIGHT: *A 1943 poster of African American pilot Lieutenant Robert W. Dietz, encouraging civilians to buy war bonds to help finance World War II. Various races were depicted on these posters by the Department of the Treasury to reach as many Americans as possible.*



CORRECTIONS & CLARIFICATIONS

Ironically, the fight for women's rights in the United States began during the London Anti-Slavery Convention in 1840. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott joined forces after being ousted from the conference, which had ruled against women's participation. This set the stage for the Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention of 1848. Cady crafted the Declaration of Sentiments, using the Declaration of Independence as her guide, but changed the phrase to "all men and women are created equal." The Sentiments document included eleven resolutions indicating the rights that women should enjoy as well as men. The ninth, the right to vote in all elections, proved to be the most shocking – even for some of the women in attendance. "Thee will make us ridiculous," Lucretia Mott told Stanton. It took the eloquence of former slave Frederick Douglass to persuade the group to pass the resolution, although the whole concept of women's rights was the subject of widespread ridicule in the press during the next several months. Stanton was thrilled. What could spread the word about womens' rights wider and faster than a sizable amount of ink in the press?

In 1851, Stanton and Susan B. Anthony crossed paths, but it wasn't until 1866 that they formed the American Equal Rights Association to secure the vote for all men and women, black or white. During the second half of the 19th Century, Stanton and Anthony split from other suffragettes and formed the National Women's Rights Association when the vote was secured for black men with the Fourteenth Amendment, but the language did not include women's suffrage. In 1878, six years after Susan B. Anthony was arrested for attempting to vote in the 1872 presidential election, the Women's Suffrage Bill was introduced in Congress. An idea somewhat before its time, it lingered there with little being done, although women continued to campaign for better working conditions and suffrage. Gradually, women's right to vote in local elections was granted in many western states, including Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, and Idaho, and later in Michigan, Kansas, Oregon,



National Woman Suffrage Association.

President, SUSAN B. ANTHONY,
Rochester, N. Y.
Ch'n Ex. Com. MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE,
Fayetteville, N. Y.
Cor. Sec'y, JANE GRAHAM JONES,
916 Prairie Ave., Chicago, Ill
For. Cor. Sec'y, LAURA CURTIS BULLARD,
[illegible] East Thirty-ninth St., New York.
Rec. Sec'y, MARY F. DAVIS,
Orange, New Jersey
Treasurer, ELLEN C. SARGENT,
Washington, D. C.

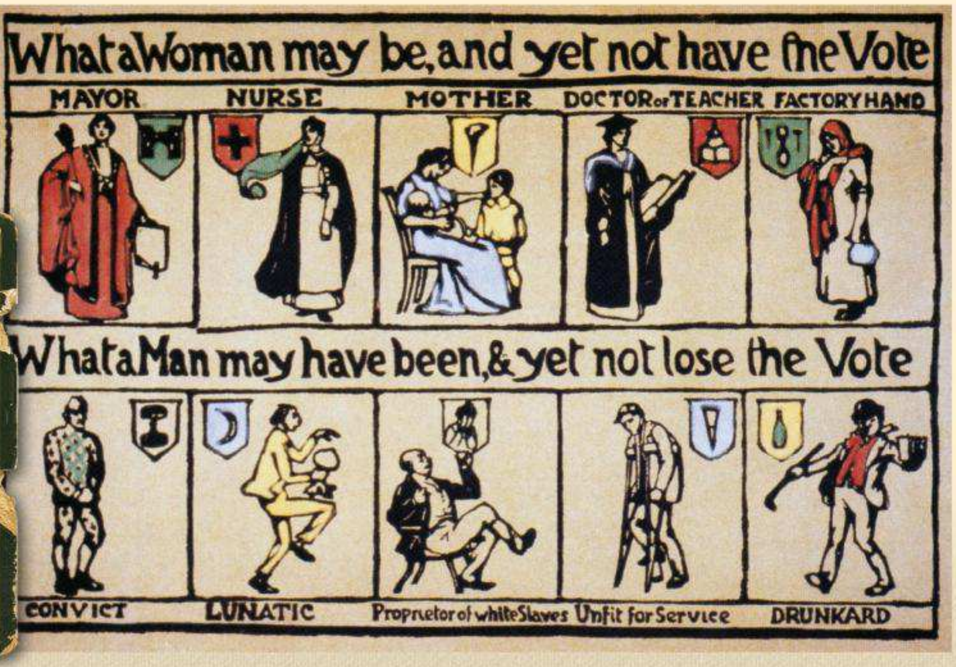
1873.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives in Congreſs aſsembled:

We the undersigned, citizens of the United States, but deprived of some of the privileges and immunities of citizens, among which is the right to vote, beg leave to submit the following Resolution:—

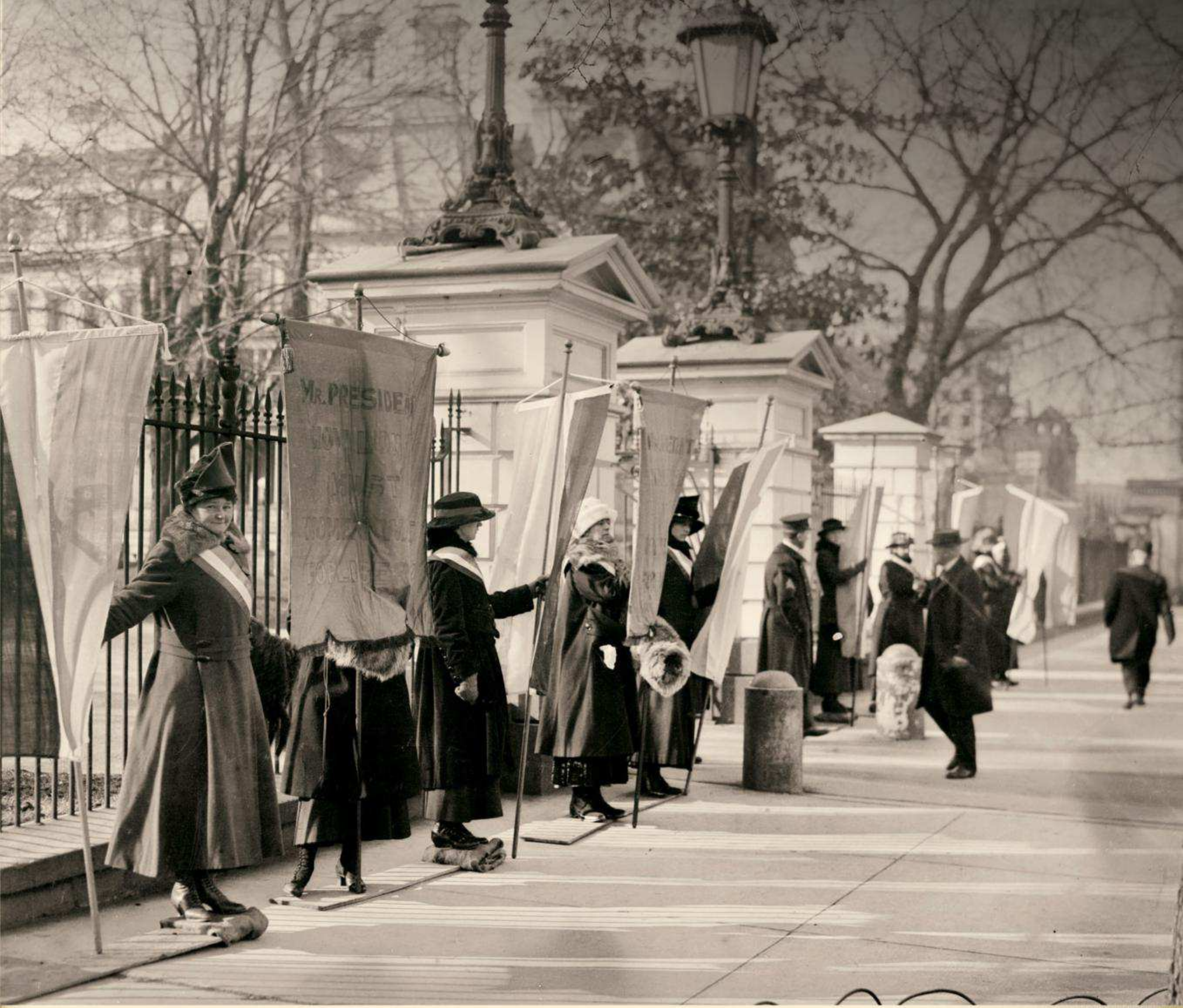
Resolved: That we, the officers and members of the National Woman Suffrage Aſsociation, in Convention aſsembled, Respectfully ask Congreſs to enact appropriate legislation during its present seſsion to protect women citizens in the several States of this Union, in their right to vote.

Susan B. Anthony Pr
Matilda Joslyn Gage Ch. Ex. Com
Elizabeth Cady Stanton


What a Woman may be, and yet not have the Vote
MAYOR
NURSE
MOTHER
DOCTOR or TEACHER
FACTORY HAND
What a Man may have been, & yet not lose the Vote
CONVICT
LUNATIC
Proprietor of white Slaves
Unfit for Service
DRUNKARD

A "GOOD BOY"

Women's suffrage might have been delayed further were it not for Harry Burns, a twenty-four-year-old congressman from Tennessee, who cast the deciding vote in favor of the Nineteenth Amendment. Burns apparently chose to heed his mother's advice contained in a letter telling him to "be a good boy" and "vote for suffrage."



and Arizona. Then, in 1912, Theodore Roosevelt's Bull Moose Party initiated a women's suffrage plank in its convention platform.

Just when it appeared the movement had really taken hold (Jeanette Rankin became the first woman elected to the House of Representatives in 1916), the United States entered World War I and the women's campaign took a back seat. In the long term, despite the temporary setback, this strengthened their cause, as it gave women the opportunity to show their worth and their ability by carrying on with men's work during wartime.

Finally, on August 16, 1920, Tennessee ratified the Nineteenth Amendment, giving the two-thirds majority needed for passage – eighty years after Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton had first crossed paths.

ABOVE: *Suffragette picketers outside the White House in Washington, D.C., c.1917. Sixteen suffragette picketers were arrested that year. A court later declared the arrests invalid.*

OPPOSITE BOTTOM: *"What a Woman may be and yet not have the Vote": English postcard, c.1910. British women over the age of thirty were granted voting rights in 1918, and in 1928 suffrage was extended to women over twenty-one.*

OPPOSITE TOP: *Petition signed by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton of the National Women's Suffrage Association to Congress, 1873, requesting that legislation be enacted granting women the right to vote.*

ONE LIVED TO SEE IT

Only one signer of the 1848 Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments lived to see ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment seventy-two years later. Charlotte Woodward, who had been a worker in a glove factory in 1848, voted in the 1920 election.

FDR ATTACKS THE DEPRESSION

Determined to bring the country out of the worst depression in its history, President Franklin Roosevelt, like his distant cousin Theodore, used his presidential powers to skirt around the Constitution's edicts.

During the unbridled optimism of the 1920s, middle-class investors, anxious for instant wealth, dipped into their savings to get in on the stock-buying frenzy sweeping the nation. In October 1929, stock values tumbled and shareholders, seeing their stock certificates turn into worthless paper, rushed to sell. Manufacturing declined as companies across the nation declared bankruptcy, sending hundreds of thousands to the unemployment lines. Banks failed when jobless homeowners could no longer pay on loans and mortgages, and unemployment reached 25 percent. Farmers lost their land to foreclosure. In an effort to contain the damage and get the country back on track, President Herbert Hoover, in 1929 and 1930, initiated farm subsidy programs, established tariffs to prevent competition from foreign trade, and negotiated with labor and business leaders. While this helped for a time, overall these tactics did little to prevent the domino effect of failure upon failure as the economy sunk further.

On the platform of a "New Deal," Franklin Delano Roosevelt easily won the 1932 election. At his inauguration on March 4, 1933, he promised to "ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis – broad executive power to wage a war against the emergency."

Roosevelt met with nearly zero opposition. The country was in serious trouble and the president said he had plans to fix it. Republicans and Democrats in both houses of Congress rallied to support him.

His first directive, the Economy Act, lowered the salary of federal employees and reduced some veterans' benefits. On March 5, the day after he took office, he created the Emergency Banking Act, in effect a bank holiday, to give the federal government time to shore up the banks' declining funds, and permitted the Federal Reserve to issue more currency. To avoid a lowering of currency values, the act also forbade private hoarding and deportation of gold. In April he took the country off the gold standard, hoping that this would cause prices to rise. Congress created the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, designed to protect bank deposits. The legislators put through the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), providing jobs in forestry, farming, and land reclamation for men aged 18 to 25.

His most far-reaching measure was a series of proposals designed to stimulate the overall economy, create jobs, and assist farmers, collectively known as the New Deal.

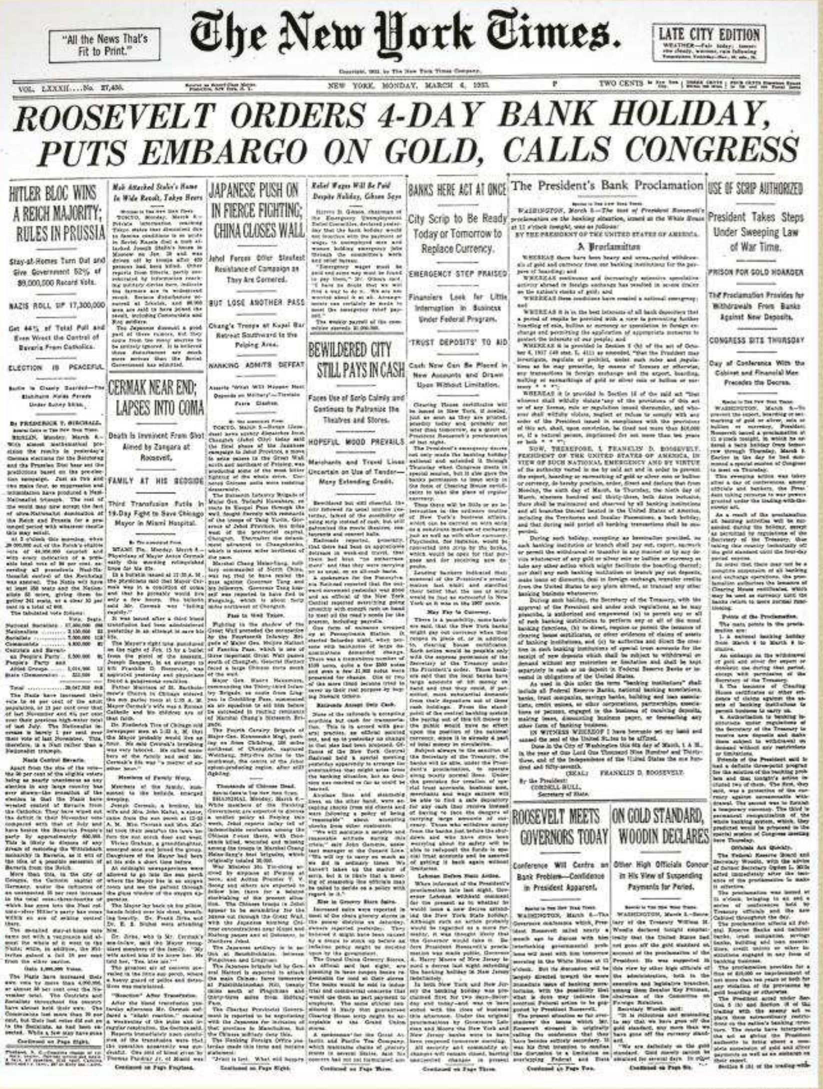
The Agricultural Adjustment Act (which created the Agricultural Adjustment Administration) forced farmers to limit the production of wheat, cotton, tobacco, and some other staples and offer the growers subsidies in return. In other words, the farmers were paid to not grow crops on a certain number of acres. Agricultural prices rose, which benefited most growers, but not dairy, cattle, and tenant farmers.

The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), passed in 1933, established a board to build power plants, dams, and transmission lines. In particular, TVA projects provided cheap electrical power to underdeveloped areas in the Tennessee Valley area. Not without downsides, the TVA project also forced hundreds from their homes and did little to offset the poverty in the region.

ABOVE: *Unemployed men in San Francisco, California, 1934. That year, the jobless rate had reached approximately 21.7 percent.*

The National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) was conceived to create organizations of capitalists and workers – under government

RIGHT: *Front page of the New York Times, March 6, 1933, announcing FDR's proclamation declaring a four-day bank closing and an embargo on gold.*



"All the News That's Fit to Print."

The New York Times.

LATE CITY EDITION

VOL. LXXXII....No. 27,435. NEW YORK, MONDAY, MARCH 6, 1933. TWO CENTS

ROOSEVELT ORDERS 4-DAY BANK HOLIDAY, PUTS EMBARGO ON GOLD, CALLS CONGRESS

HITLER BLOC WINS A REICH MAJORITY; RULES IN PRUSSIA

Stay-at-Homes Turn Out and Give Government 52% of 39,000,000 Record Vote.

NAZIS ROLL UP 17,300,000

Get 44% of Total Poll and Even Wrest the Control of Bavaria From Catholics.

ELECTION IS PEACEFUL

CERMAK NEAR END; LAPSES INTO COMA

Death Is Imminent From Shot Aimed by Zangara at Roosevelt.

JAPANESE PUSH ON IN FIERCE FIGHTING; CHINA CLOSES WALL

Jehol Forces Offer Stoutest Resistance of Campaign as They Are Cornered.

BUT LOSE ANOTHER PASS

Chang's Troops at Kupei Kou Retreat Southward to the Peiping Area.

NANKING ADMITS DEFEAT

BEWILDERED CITY STILL PAYS IN CASH

Faces Use of Scrip Calmly and Continues to Patronize the Theatres and Stores.

HOPEFUL MOOD PREVAILS

BANKS HERE ACT AT ONCE

City Scrip to Be Ready Today or Tomorrow to Replace Currency.

EMERGENCY STEP PRAISED

Financiers Look for Little Interruption in Business Under Federal Program.

'TRUST DEPOSITS' TO AID

Cash Now Can Be Placed in New Accounts and Drawn Upon Without Limitation.

The President's Bank Proclamation

A Proclamation

ROOSEVELT MEETS GOVERNORS TODAY

Conference Will Centre on Bank Problem—Confidence in President Apparent.

ON GOLD STANDARD, WOODIN DECLARES

Other High Officials Concur in His View of Suspending Payments for Period.

USE OF SCRIP AUTHORIZED

President Takes Steps Under Sweeping Law of War Time.

PRISON FOR GOLD HOARDER

The Proclamation Provides for Withdrawals From Banks Against New Deposits.

CONGRESS SITS THURSDAY

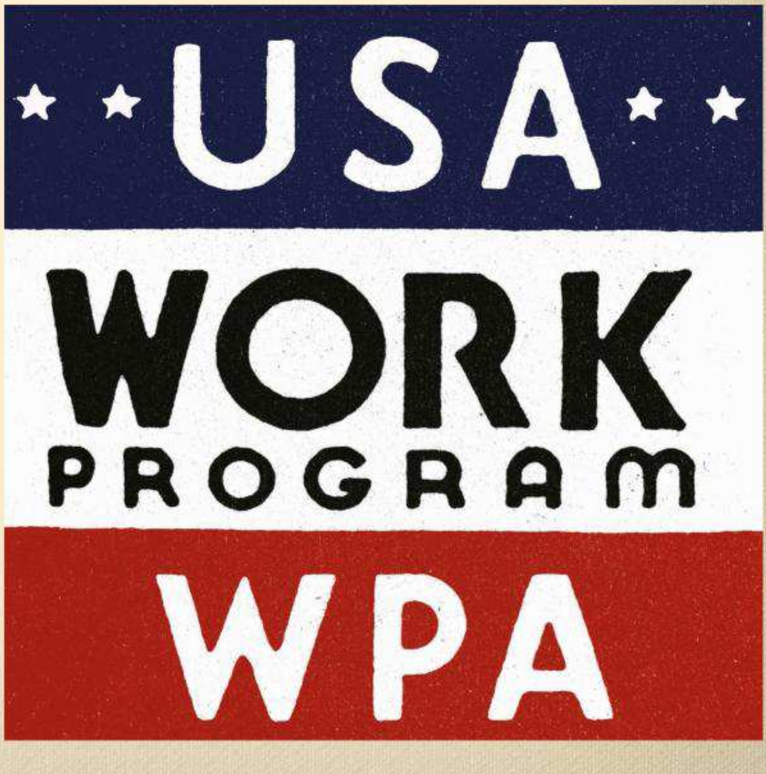
Day of Conference With the Cabinet and Financial Men Precedes the Decree.

supervision – to solve labor/management issues using fair business practice "codes" as well as stimulate economic recovery. The act provided for the National Recovery Administration agency, which permitted manufacturers to raise prices and limit production, while guaranteeing workers minimum wages and maximum hours, as well as bargaining rights and the opportunity to unionize. The NRA handled the drafting of the business codes, but ran into roadblocks from the manufacturers, who insisted on revising codes to accommodate their specific issues and who were also wary of workers' attempts to form unions. While the NRA met with some success (providing more than one million jobs, ending some deflation, and setting the basis for minimum wages and child labor laws), the agency did not end the Depression as was hoped. By 1934, business activity had improved, then quickly fell, and manufacturing once again declined.

Roosevelt's charisma and pragmatic approach to problem solving, coupled with the country's demand for action in getting the nation back on its feet, helped push these and many other programs through Congress. Then, in 1935, the Supreme Court flexed its muscles in the Schecter vs. the United States case and virtually killed the NRA.

The case concerned the Schecter brothers, poultry dealers in Brooklyn, New York, who had been convicted of selling sick poultry and violating the NRA wage and hours laws. The Supreme Court overturned two of their convictions on the grounds that the Schecters operated only in New York State and weren't subject to interstate commerce laws as outlined in Article I of the Constitution. The court also stated that Roosevelt had legislated beyond the limits of his authority in regulating commerce through NRA directives. In effect, this invalidated the NRA given that everything ruled by the court fell under guidelines specified in the Schecter case.

By 1935, like an annoying houseguest, the Depression refused to leave. Roosevelt introduced what is called "the Second New Deal." This included Social Security, the legislation with the greatest enduring impact, guaranteeing those over sixty-five income for their retirement years. Employees would have a small percentage of their pay (starting at 1 percent for incomes under $3,000) deducted for Social Security taxes, and that amount would be matched by the employer. When a worker reached age sixty-five, he would be given a monthly amount based upon his wages during the previous years worked. Percentages have been adjusted and increased since Social Security was first introduced, but it is still in effect today. Social Security provides funds (but not necessarily enough for all expenses) for seniors and the disabled.



RIGHT: *Logo for the Work Progress Administration (WPA), 1935, which attempted to provide jobs to the long-term unemployed during the Depression. The WPA was eliminated in 1943 due to a worker shortage in World War II.*

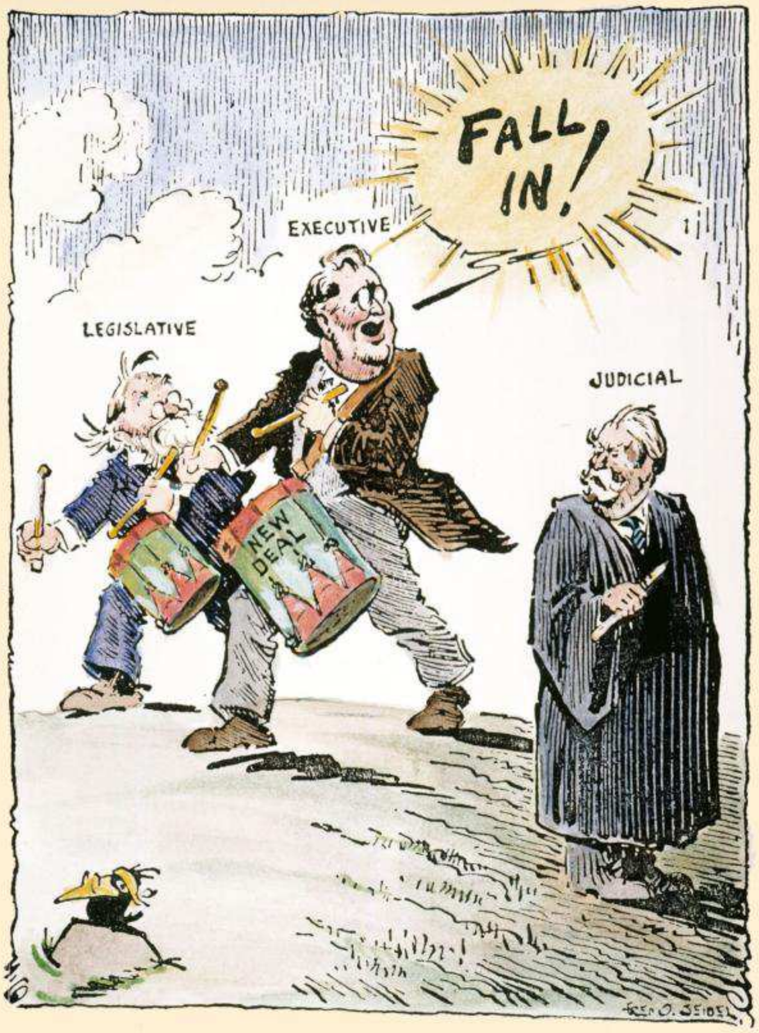
Another program, the Works Progress Administration, provided jobs to over a million unemployed workers beginning in 1935. Construction projects included hospitals, schools, airports, parks, bridges, roads, buildings, and nearly any other project its agents could imagine, including the arts. Muralists added their artistic touch to walls in government buildings and writers used their journalistic talents to author travel guidebooks.

By 1937, it appeared that a number of measures Roosevelt had initiated in his first term in office were doomed. Lawyers told employers not to bother adding Social Security procedures to their bookkeeping. They felt certain that the conservatives on the Supreme Court would influence the liberals and moderates to rule it unconstitutional. The Wagner Act, passed in 1935, encouraged collective bargaining and allowed workers to take part in strikes to support their demands. Some groups saw this as a socialist measure and predicted its demise if the Supreme Court ruled against it.

Roosevelt saw a way out. He petitioned Congress to increase the number of Supreme Court justices, a thinly veiled plan to "pack" the court with judges sympathetic to his policies. He couched it in terms that made it appear as though elderly justices would have less pressure to perform their duties if additional judges could take over from time to time. FDR assumed there would be no opposition in the largely Democratic Congress, but his optimism was short-lived. The press and most of Congress opposed the Supreme Court packing, fearing that it would set a precedent for future manipulations by the executive branch. Roosevelt eventually gave in, but in the meantime, two of the moderate judges shifted their positions and joined the other, more liberal justices. This saved Social Security.

From then on, Roosevelt had little to fear from the Supreme Court and any potential rulings against his policies. Still, the New Deal policies faded as the 1930s wore on. To counteract a recession in 1937, which undid most of the advances made since 1933, Roosevelt put forth several plans, many of which were defeated by conservatives in both political parties. A few proposals made their way through Congress, including one that extended financial aid to farmers (the second Agricultural Adjustment Act) and establishment of both a national minimum wage and a forty-four-hour work week. Programs such as the CCC and WPA were shut down by the early 1940s.

> *"TO COUNTERACT A RECESSION IN 1937, WHICH UNDID MOST OF THE ADVANCES MADE SINCE 1933, ROOSEVELT PUT FORTH SEVERAL PLANS, MANY OF WHICH WERE DEFEATED BY CONSERVATIVES IN BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES"*



TOP: *"The Supreme Court under Pressure" cartoon depicts Roosevelt telling the old men on the Supreme Court to get in step with his New Deal legislative efforts.*

BOTTOM: *Workers weighing bushels of peas in a field near Calipatria, California, 1939. Most migrant workers were paid $5 a day for a 12-hour day.*

WHAT SORT OF MAN LED THE COUNTRY OUT OF THE DEPRESSION?

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was a charmer, a leader at a time when the country needed not only a problem-solver but a source of inspiration and optimism. It's fair to say he redefined the presidency and he set the nation toward a new consciousness by enacting legislation designed to address the basic needs of America's jobless, poverty-stricken, and depressed citizens.

History has shown, however, that in spite of all the massive legislation put forth and passed, he lacked an in-depth knowledge of economic principles. Strictly speaking, the New Deal did not end the Depression, but Roosevelt's actions most likely helped to offset a far worse scenario of increased poverty, homelessness, and despair.

In his take-charge manner, he redefined the presidency, believing that the government should provide not only personal rights as outlined in the Constitution, but citizens were also entitled to enjoy a sense of well-being, earn a living wage, be guaranteed fair treatment in the workplace, and have security in their old age. Many policies that exist today came out of the programs that he initiated, such as Social Security, the Agricultural Adjustment Act, and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, all of which required bureaus, agencies, and consultants. Thus the role of the federal government was expanded in a way the Founding Fathers could never have imagined.

Roosevelt's administration had affected the Constitution and the three branches of government in other ways. He tried to add or "pack" the Supreme Court with twelve justices, and this effort failed. While there is nothing in the Constitution stipulating the number of justices, no president since then has attempted to meddle with Congress to alter the Supreme Court system. In addition, Roosevelt served an unprecedented three-plus terms in office, which eventually led to the Twenty-second Amendment limiting the elected president to just two terms.

RIGHT: *President Roosevelt smiles during the opening baseball game of the 1934 season in Washington D.C.*

THE LEND-LEASE ACT & WORLD WAR II

As Roosevelt's New Deal struggled, he turned his attention to foreign policy. War erupted in Europe when German soldiers stormed into Austria, Czechoslovakia, and later Poland in 1938-39. Denmark, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, and France fell to Adolf Hitler's armies by mid-1940.

On the one hand, Roosevelt declared a neutrality policy, yet, because his sympathies lay with Britain, which now was threatened with an invasion by German forces, he ignored Congress and gave the British old American destroyers in exchange for British bases in the Western Hemisphere. Roosevelt knew that a British victory was essential to American security and commercial interests, but above all, Germany simply needed to be stopped.

Americans, however, were sharply divided on whether to get involved in any conflict. In the 1930s, Congress had passed several Neutrality Acts, but that didn't stop Roosevelt from loaning funds to China after Japan's invasion of that country in 1937. The president insisted that China and Japan were not at war, so no neutrality policy was violated.

Roosevelt was easily reelected in 1940 for an unprecedented third term. Voters thought America would be forced into the war in Europe, and they preferred to retain the president they knew rather than "change horses in midstream." After the election, Roosevelt approached Congress and requested that Britain be given additional war material to be paid for "in goods and services at the end of the war," a program known as "Lend-Lease." In 1941, after Germany invaded the Soviet Union, Roosevelt again went before Congress and asked to extend the draft. (The Selective Service Act, passed in 1940, was valid for only one year.)

America did enter the war, not due to Germany's aggressive policies, but rather the United States' issues with Japan and that country's invasion of China and Manchuria. After months of meetings between Roosevelt and the Japanese envoys, negotiations broke down. On December 7, 1941, the Japanese attacked the naval base at Pearl Harbor in Honolulu, Hawaii. The president appeared before Congress on December 8 and asked for a declaration of war against Japan, calling December 7 a "date which will live in infamy." Congress declared war and on December 11, Germany and its ally Italy honored their treaty with Japan and declared war on the United States, thus beginning World War II.

During the next three years, under Roosevelt's leadership, the U.S. fought on two fronts – Europe and the South Pacific. In 1944, voters still held their president in high regard, and few wished to change administrations in the middle of a war. Although it was obvious his health had deteriorated, Roosevelt campaigned vigorously for another chance at office, with Missouri senator Harry Truman as his running mate. The Democrats won easily.

On April 12, 1945, President Roosevelt, in the first year of his fourth term, died of a cerebral hemorrhage. Truman was sworn in as the thirty-third president of the United States. As commander in chief of the armed forces, it was his duty to make what could easily be regarded as the most far-reaching presidential decision in the nation's history to date.

Under Roosevelt's directive, scientists had secretly been researching and developing the most powerful weapon ever devised – the atomic bomb. The weapon, now in its final stages, was scheduled to be deployed that summer. Truman had a difficult decision: by its very destructiveness, the bomb could end the war and save thousands of soldiers' lives (avoiding an invasion of Japan); but it would come at the price of killing thousands of Japanese civilians.

Truman issued the order to proceed and the bomb was dropped on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, and another on Nagasaki a few days later. The Japanese surrendered on August 15.

THE G.I. BILL

The Servicemen's Readjustment Act, passed in 1944, was initiated in lieu of a military bonus to soldiers returning from the war. Known as the G.I. Bill of Rights, it offered subsidies to the veterans so they could obtain a college education, purchase homes or start new businesses with low-interest loans. The bill helped stimulate the economy, and nearly eight million veterans enrolled in institutes of higher education. The bill was enacted in an effort to stem any possible issues arising from veterans' entitlements once the war ended. (In 1932 World War I veterans had marched on Washington demanding bonuses promised to them by Congress, although according to the policy, they weren't entitled to those funds until 1945.) President Roosevelt favored a postwar assistance program for the poor as well as veterans, but veterans' organizations sought congressional support for a veterans-only bill.

OPPOSITE TOP: *British prime minister Winston Churchill (far left), President Roosevelt, and Joseph Stalin, premier of the Soviet Union, meet in February 1945 in Yalta, Ukraine, to determine post–World War II organization. Roosevelt's declining health is now evident as he starts his fourth term in office. He died two months later.*

PRESIDENTIAL TERM LIMITS

There had been no provision in the Constitution limiting presidential terms of office, but after Roosevelt's unprecedented twelve years in office, Congress approved the Twenty-second Amendment, limiting the president to two terms. Essentially, the amendment stipulated that no one could be elected more than twice and a vice president who becomes president due to a vacancy could not be elected more than once if the partial term was more than two years. The amendment has been disputed and proposals to repeal it continue to come up in Congress occasionally, especially by legislators who are content with the president's administration and want him to stay on. Some feel that a president in his second term is a lame duck and may not work as hard to bring about necessary changes needed in difficult situations, whereas a third term would extend his authority and accountability. Others say that if a president is not concerned about being reelected in his second term he is allowed more time to work on his objectives in order to leave behind a creditable list of achievements.

RIGHT: *President Roosevelt and Vice President Harry S. Truman at the inaugural ceremonies, January 20, 1945, for Roosevelt's unprecedented fourth term.*

VOTING AT EIGHTEEN & THE RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS

Although eighteen was the age designated for military service, those men who were drafted to fight for their country were not allowed to vote until they reached twenty-one. During the Vietnam War in the late 1960s and early 1970s, young men and women protested that if they were old enough to die for their country, they were old enough to vote. As an extension of the Voting Act of 1965, Congress passed the Twenty-sixth Amendment, lowering the voting age to eighteen. Oregon appealed and the Supreme Court upheld the appeal, saying that Congress could establish the voting age only in federal elections, not local ones. This ruling meant that eighteen-year-olds were allowed to vote for president but had to reach twenty-one before casting ballots for governor, state representatives, or any other official in their district.

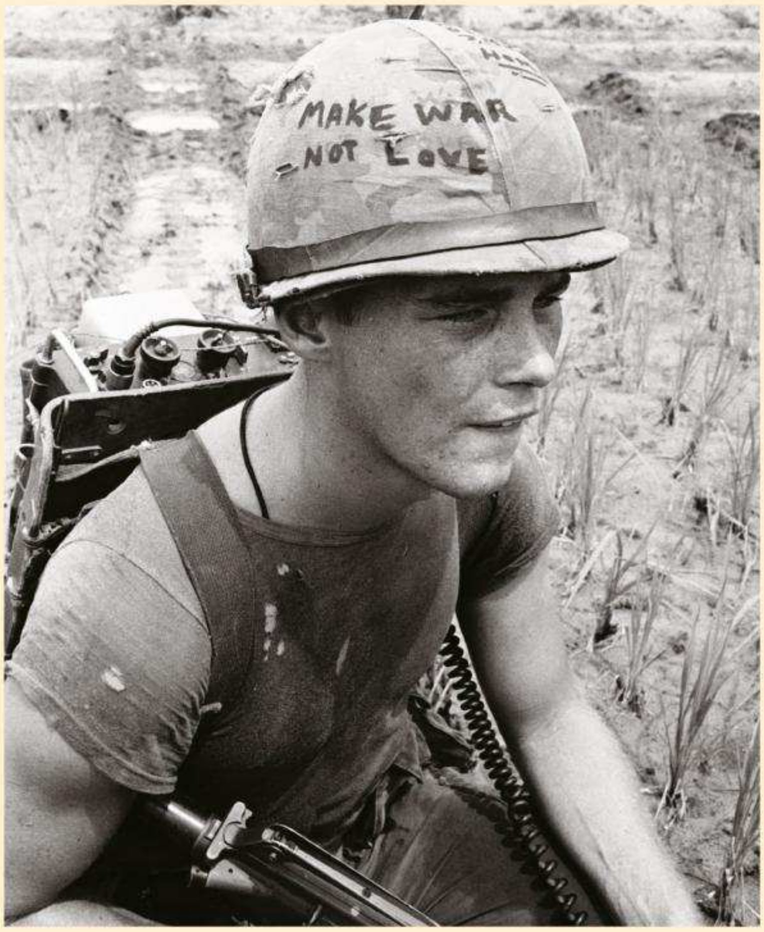
This created a new set of problems: Different voting ages meant two different elections and two sets of voting lists. Eventually most states agreed to establish eighteen as the age for signing legal contracts as well as voting.

The issue of gun control has been at the forefront of American consciousness since the shootings at Columbine High School in Colorado, Virginia Tech University in Virginia, and Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown, Connecticut.

Guns have always had a place in America's history. Early settlers used firearms for hunting, self-defense, and later in the fight for independence. When the framers of the Constitution added the Second Amendment, memories of being subject to British military rule were still fresh in their minds and they felt that the "right to bear arms" was essential to the safety and protection of the fledgling nation's citizens.

Today, the right to bear firearms, as outlined in the Constitution and put forward by the National Rifle Association, contrasts with those who insist that the need for every citizen to possess any type of firearm is not only unnecessary but dangerous and puts firearms in the hands of people ill-equipped to operate them safely.

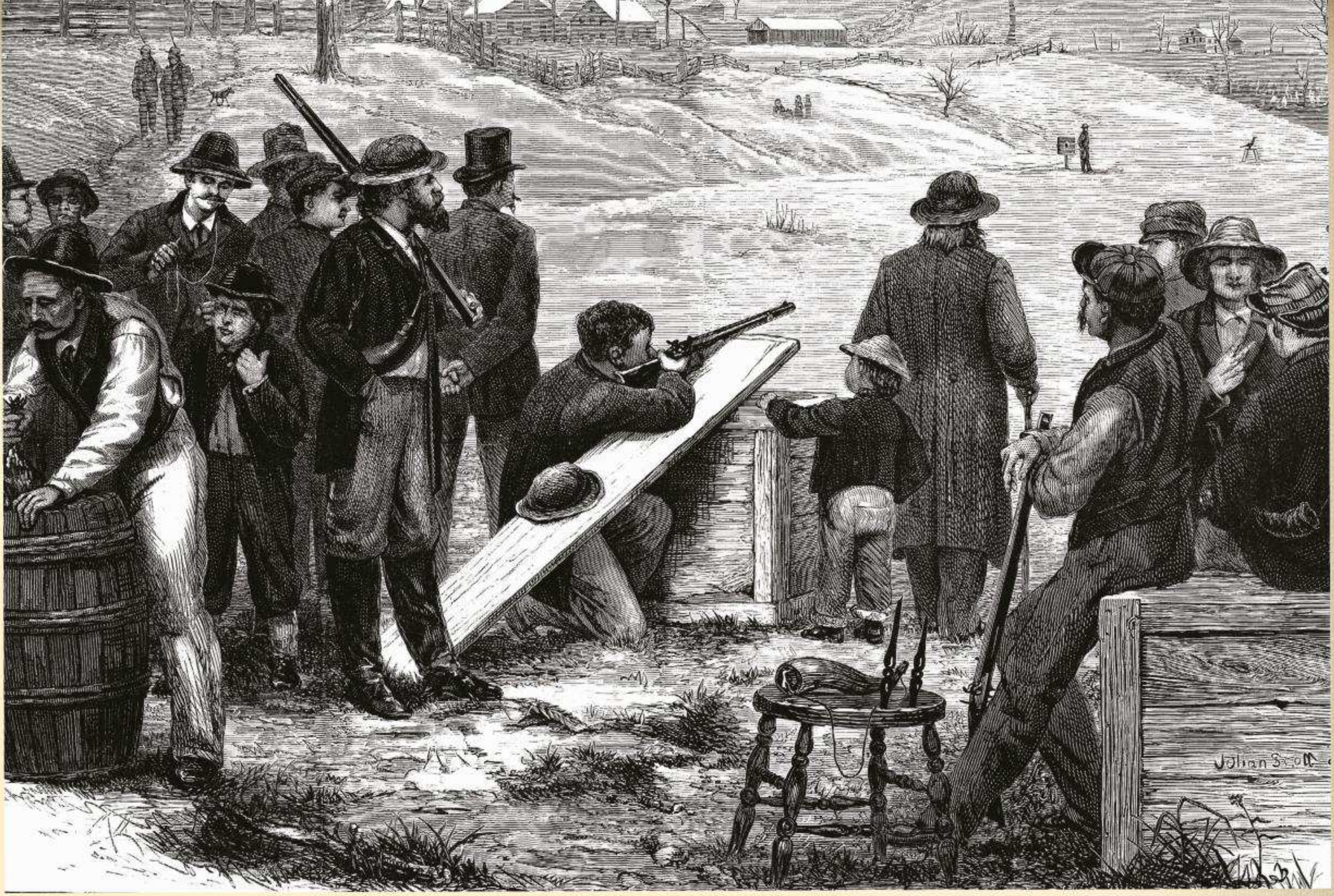
In 2008, the Supreme Court ruled that handguns are "arms" and in the case of Heller vs. the District of Columbia upheld an individual's right to possess guns for self-defense, a right protected under the Second Amendment. The court added that the ruling did not allow felons or the mentally ill to own firearms, and statutes forbidding the carrying of firearms inside areas such as schools or government



ABOVE: *A soldier serving in Da Nang, South Vietnam, in 1967, seems to send a message with a takeoff of the hippie slogan "make love not war" written on his helmet. The Vietnam War was the subject of intense controversy and protest during the 1960s and early 1970s, and one of the issues leading to passage of the Twenty-sixth Amendment giving eighteen-year-olds the vote.*

PRIMARY BALLOT
REPUBLICAN PRIMARY BALLOT

RIGHT: *An eighteen-year-old from Chicago votes in the 1972 Illinois presidential primary, the first year that eighteen-year-olds could vote, after passage of the Twenty-sixth Amendment to the Constitution.*



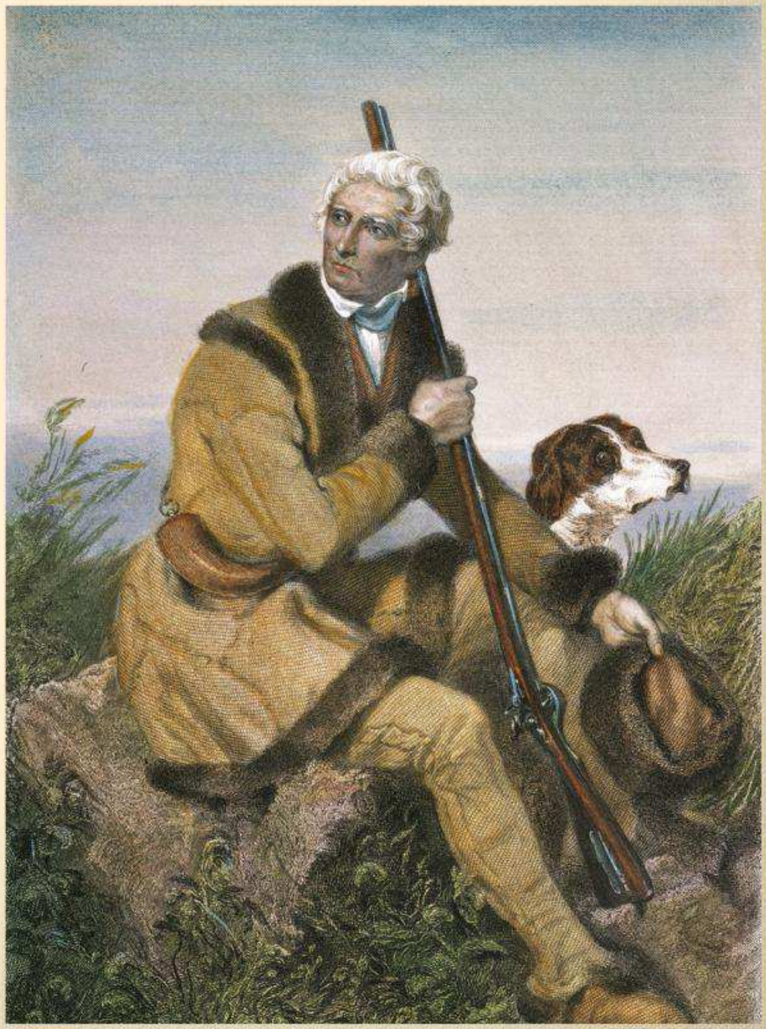
buildings were still in effect. This was the first case in which the Supreme Court clarified that the Second Amendment permits a private citizen to keep and bear arms.

In 2010, in the McDonald vs. Chicago case, a private citizen disputed the Chicago law forbidding ownership of handguns for its residents. Otis McDonald claimed he needed a handgun due to increased crime in his neighborhood. The Supreme Court ruled in favor of McDonald, reversing a decision by a lower court and further declared that the Second Amendment was incorporated in the wording of the Fourteenth Amendment, which stated that “No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges of citizens of the United States.”

The current firearms ownership debate centers around keeping firearms out of criminals’ hands as well as better enforcement of the existing gun rules rather than on increasing gun restrictions to law-abiding citizens.

Most citizens agree that arms kept for protection or sporting events should be allowed, but assault weapons and those capable of firing more than ten rounds of ammunition at a time should be outlawed for private citizens. The National Rifle Association and many other gun owners agree that background checks for gun purchasers are necessary, yet they feel registration of any kind can potentially lead to eventual gun confiscation.

This is a complex issue, and one which will cause numerous debates in the years to come.



ABOVE: *Men gather for a turkey shoot in the countryside, 1874.*

RIGHT: *American frontiersman, explorer, and soldier Daniel Boone forged his Wilderness Road through the Appalachian Mountains to Kentucky in the mid-1770s and later served in the Revolutionary War.*

AND YET SHE STANDS

After the Constitution was approved in 1789, Congress still had twelve amendments to consider. Of these, Amendments Three through Twelve were ratified. One and Two were tabled, and, as a result, Amendment Three became One, Four became Two, and so on. As previously mentioned, these ten became the Bill of Rights. The tabled Second Amendment (specifying that Congressional pay raises go into effect after the start of the next congressional session) was ratified in 1992. It is now the Twenty-seventh Amendment.

Other amendments still technically open to consideration, proposed prior to the seven-year limit for an amendment to remain viable, are:

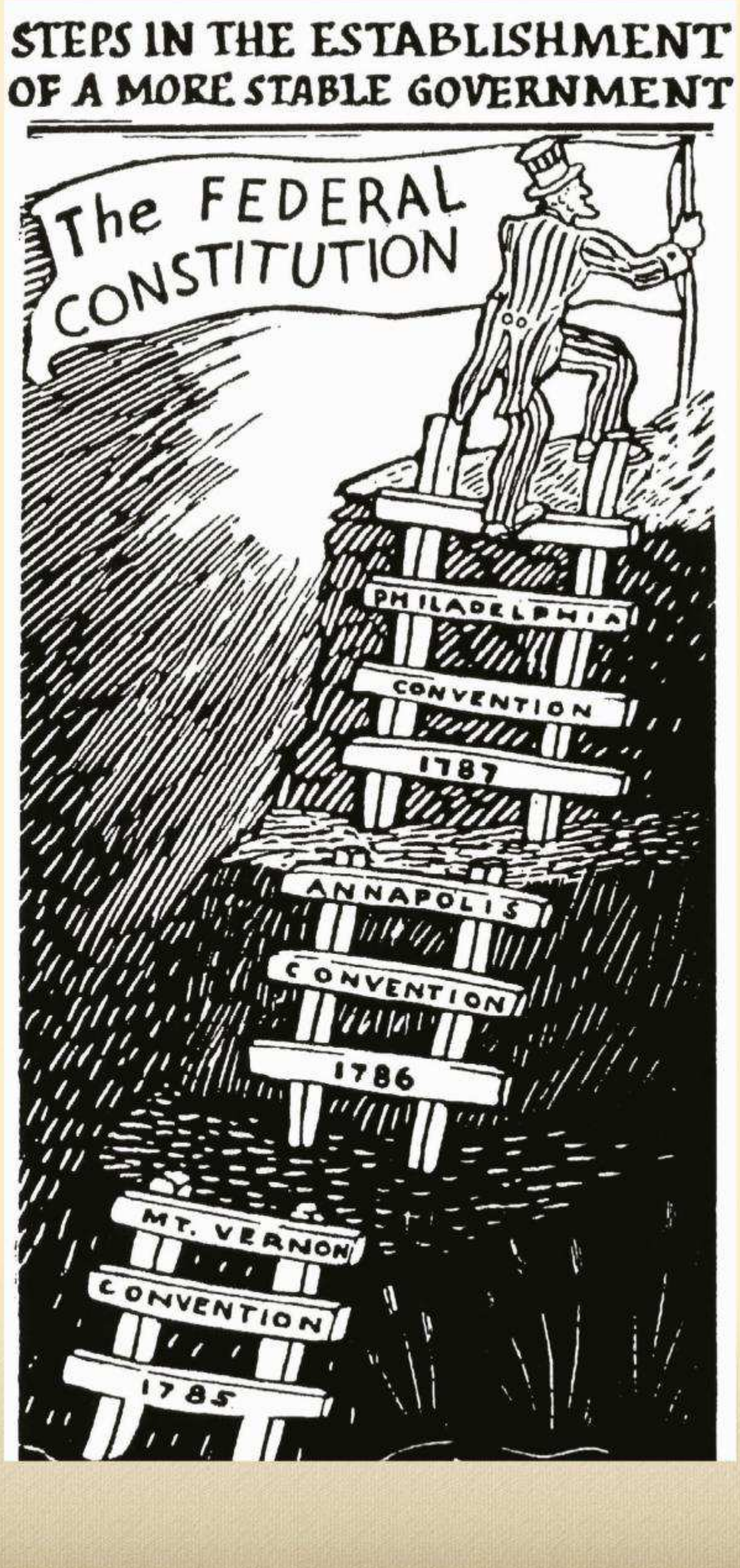
THE CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATION AMENDMENT: This would have been Amendment One in the Bill of Rights. It stipulated that the House of Representatives would never have less than 200 members. Today, the House has over 400 members, so the chances of debate over that amendment are slim.

THE NOBLE TITLE AMENDMENT: Initiated by Congress in 1810, there is, again, little indication that this amendment will surface anytime soon. It declared that if an American citizen accepted a title, such as a knighthood or title of nobility without the consent of Congress, he or she would no longer be considered a citizen of the United States.

THE SLAVERY AMENDMENT: In 1861, Congress proposed this amendment permitting states to keep their slave-holding status without interference by the federal government. Many felt it was a final effort to prevent the southern states from seceding. To avoid war, President Lincoln signed it – the only proposed amendment with a presidential signature.

CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT: This is the only amendment put forth in the 20th Century that is still outstanding, having been ratified by twenty-eight states. Congress wanted to ensure that children under the age of eighteen would have freedom from exploitation in the workforce in every state in the union. Since a number of federal and state regulations are in place to safeguard young people who work, another amendment appears unnecessary.

As it stands there are still several amendments pending and many more proposed which have failed or expired. Two-thirds of both houses of Congress must approve an amendment. If approved, it is sent to all fifty states for ratification. Thirty-eight states are required to ratify before it becomes law. All amendments are subject to debate and lengthy discussion among the legislators, not only in Congress but in the states' houses of government as well. The framers of the


STEPS IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MORE STABLE GOVERNMENT
The FEDERAL CONSTITUTION
PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION 1787
ANNAPOLIS CONVENTION 1786
MT. VERNON CONVENTION 1785

Constitution wanted to be certain that Congress would have limited power in making any changes to the Constitution; too many changes and the citizens would lose respect for it and their legislative bodies. Out of more than 9,000 proposed amendments, only thirty-three have passed through the House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate and then sent on to the states. Of these, twenty-seven have been ratified.

As the American people take on sensitive matters, such as same-sex marriage, abortion, or invasion of privacy brought on by new technology, lawmakers work with the other two branches of government – often the courts – for interpretation of the Constitution, rather than draft new amendments.

AMENDMENTS THAT FAILED

The Equal Rights Amendment: This amendment first appeared in 1923, shortly after the ratification of the Women's Suffrage Amendment. It failed at that time because some feared that the amendment would override laws protecting working women. Essentially, it states that equal rights under the law shall not be denied on account of sex. In 1972, during the era of civil rights fever, Congress sent another ERA proposal to the states but an upturn in the conservative philosophy – which feared the loss of protections enjoyed by women – prevented many states from ratifying it. Congress moved to extend the ratification deadline to ten years – flying in the face of the Constitution's seven-year limit. The ERA expired in June 1982.

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA REPRESENTATION AMENDMENT: This amendment proposed that the district be considered a state, with the number of representatives proportionate to its population, plus two senators. The seven-year time limit expired in 1985 without ratification.

THE SCHOOL PRAYER AMENDMENT: Brought before Congress in 2003, this amendment proposes that "the people retain the right to pray and to recognize their religious beliefs…on public property, including schools."

TERM LIMITS FOR THE U.S. CONGRESS: This amendment, introduced in 2011, would set a limit of two terms for senators (totalling twelve years) and three years for representatives (totalling six years).

REPEAL OF THE TWENTY-SECOND AMENDMENT: Introduced January 2013, this amendment would have removed the term limitations for presidents.

POLITICALLY SENSITIVE ISSUES

ABORTION: In 1973, the Supreme Court struck down a Texas law forbidding a woman to have an abortion during the first trimester of pregnancy (unless it endangered the health of the mother). The court ruled that abortion is permissible until the end of the first trimester of a pregnancy without intervention by the state. The court added guidelines for the states' drafting of abortion legislation. The case came about when Texas resident Norma McCovey, pregnant at the time, filed a suit in the federal district court protesting the Texas law. She claimed it infringed on her First, Fourth, Fifth, Ninth, and Fourteenth Amendment rights of privacy and requested permission for an abortion. The court agreed that the Texas law was unconstitutional, but refused to grant the abortion.

The Supreme Court did also rule that following the end of the first trimester, the state may enact abortion legislation "related to maternal health," require abortions to be performed by a licensed physician, and determine where they may be performed. The issue continues to elicit controversy; anti-abortion advocates conduct campaigns to have the decision overturned, and pro-choice groups feel a woman should have control over her pregnancy during the entire nine months.

SAME-SEX MARRIAGE: The Federal Marriage Amendment (FMA) would limit marriage to unions of one man and one woman and deny marriage rights to same-sex couples. In 2006 both houses of Congress failed to gain a majority vote on the measure. States dictate their own marriage laws according to their constitutions, but in July 2015 the federal government ruled that same-sex couples may exercise the fundamental right to marry, regardless of state policies. As a result, the federal government now recognizes a union between homosexual couples in the same manner as it does for heterosexual couples, and same-sex couples are now entitled to the same federal benefits. Several states, including Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, and Iowa, as well as the District of Columbia, permitted same-sex marriage prior to the federal ruling. Opponents of the amendment argue that this would be the second constitutional amendment restricting a right; the other was the Eighteenth Amendment forbidding the sale or consumption of alcohol. Religious groups, such as the United Church of Christ, maintain that marriage is religion-oriented and should not be under government control. Other opponents of the FMA say that marriage comes under the right of pursuit of happiness as guaranteed by the Constitution. They further maintain that the amendment is unnecessary, because the Constitution's Full Faith and Credit Clause stipulates that states must respect the "public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state," and states have always enacted their own family laws (including those related to marriage), without any resulting conflict.

COMBATING TERRORISM AND THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL: The tragic events of 9/11 profoundly affected the nation's consciousness. The destruction of the twin towers and portions of the Pentagon, and the loss of thousands of lives gave rise to acts usually reserved for wartime. While the nation tried to absorb the shock of those unprecedented attacks, President George W. Bush and Congress established tighter security systems at airports with the Transportation Security Administration, and pushed the Patriot Act through Congress. In October 2001, a secret executive order by the president permitted warrantless searches, and allowed the seizure of e-mail and telephone records belonging to anyone suspected of terrorist activities. A federal court declared these actions illegal and the administration backed off, stating it would follow the guidelines in the Federal Surveillance Act of 1978, which had set procedures for obtaining secret warrants. The Patriot Act gave the Secretary of the Treasury the power to oversee financial transactions, especially those

OPPOSITE: *A mid-20th Century American cartoon showing the steps from the Articles of Confederation to the federal Constitution.*

conducted by foreign groups. It gave law enforcers greater authority for detaining immigrants suspected of terrorism.

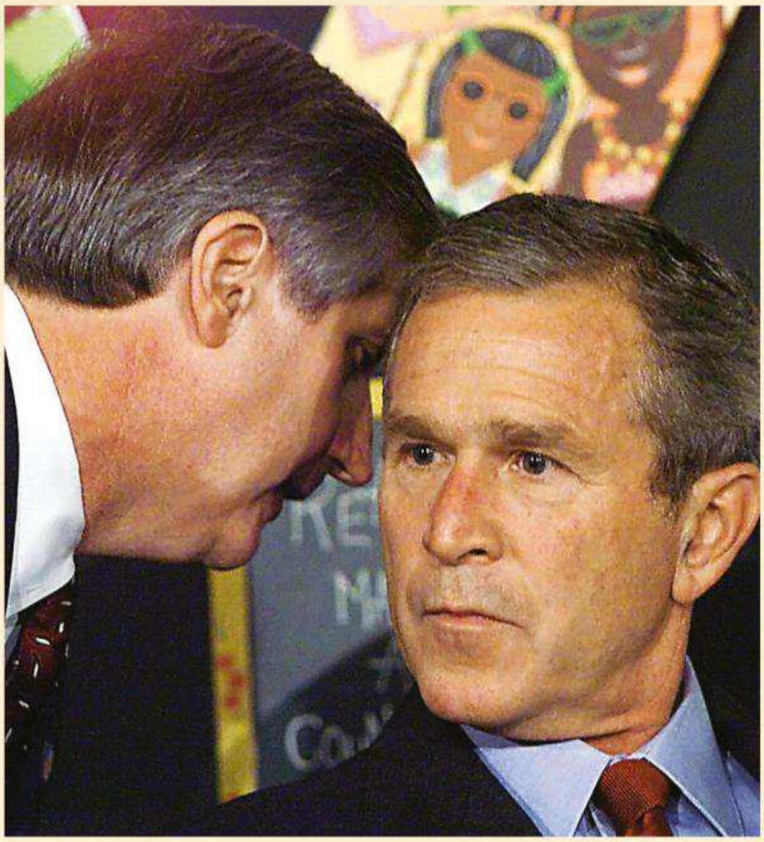
The Eighth Amendment to the Constitution forbids the infliction of cruel and unusual punishments, and the Supreme Court has ruled that torture falls under that mandate. After 9/11, President Bush's efforts to prevent further attacks included setting up a prison at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, for suspected terrorists. A military tribunal was formed to conduct trials. The Supreme Court declared that suspects could not be held indefinitely, but Congress enacted legislation to permit imprisonment of enemy combatants and denied them the right of habeas corpus. Hearsay evidence was also allowed, usually not accepted in normal trials. In 2006 a revision of the War Crimes Act allowed torture (such as waterboarding, beatings, and electrical shocks) by government agents and military personnel. In 2009, President Obama struck down that policy and ordered that prisoners "shall be treated humanely and shall not be subjected to violence…nor to outrages upon personal dignity."

IMMIGRATION REFORM: The word "immigrant" historically denotes huddled masses on the deck of a large steamship as it sailed into New York Harbor past the Statue of Liberty. Most of today's immigrants arrive from Mexico or parts of Central America under cover of darkness. Illegal, yes, but, in seeking a better life and jobs, they are willing to take the chance of being caught and deported. These illegal aliens number in the millions. The Constitution stipulates that anyone born in the United States is a citizen, but those who come into the country unlawfully do so in the hope that their children born in the U.S. will have greater opportunities as natural-born citizens.

In 1986, Congress granted amnesty only to undocumented aliens currently living in the United States. That did not stop the influx of immigrants, and many Americans, fearing that the country is becoming overcrowded, now insist that those who cross the border without benefit of documentation (papers permitting entry) must be deported. Measures to offset the problem include strengthening border protection, increasing fines for employers who hire aliens, and revising the naturalization test.

The proposed DREAM Act would offer a conditional road to U.S. citizenship for illegal aliens who arrived in the country as minors and graduate from American high schools. If they complete two years in the military or at an institute of higher learning, they would gain temporary residency for six years. A group of senators is working on immigration legislation to help the eleven million undocumented people move toward citizenship, and at the same time increase border security to prevent further illegal entries.

PATIENT PROTECTION AND AFFORDABLE CARE ACT: This act, signed into law by President Obama in 2010, has generated heated debates ever since it was proposed. While most Americans favored the section forbidding insurance companies to deny coverage due to preexisting conditions, others objected to a section mandating that all citizens purchase health insurance. Some have said the legislation did not address the central health-care problems; others felt too much attention was given to the issue. Several states have challenged the constitutionality of the law – in particular the item requiring individuals to buy insurance or face a fine, saying it violated the Constitution's Commerce Clause (Congress's power to regulate commerce), since not purchasing insurance could not be defined as "commerce" and was not within Congress's authority to tax. Eventually certain cases reached the Supreme Court, which ruled that although the insurance purchase requirement was unconstitutional according to the Commerce Clause, the penalty was permitted as a tax. The law is in effect, but opponents continue to dispute it.



ABOVE: *President George W. Bush is interrupted by his chief of staff, Andrew Card, on September 11, 2001, in Sarasota, Florida, with the news of the terrorist attack on the twin towers in New York City.*

OPPOSITE LEFT: *A U.S. military guard checks on detainees inside maximum lock-up at Camp V, styled after state-of-the-art maximum security U.S. federal prisons on the U.S. Naval base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, in 2006. Approximately 445 enemy combatants from terrorist organizations are imprisoned here.*

OPPOSITE RIGHT: *Obamacare supporters outside the U.S. Supreme Court on the third day of arguments over the constitutionality of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, March 28, 2012.*

BALANCED BUDGET: At first glance, it appears an amendment requiring a balanced budget would sail through the ratification process, because it simply makes sense. Balanced-budget proposals have come before Congress often in the last hundred years but have never garnered enough votes to make it to the states for ratification. Opponents have argued that deficit spending keeps the economy strong, but in recent years, Republicans have stood firm against using nonexistent funds to add to the government's expenditures, while Democrats balk at canceling much-needed federal programs.
Both want to pay down the national debt, which continues to mount with each passing second. They continue to argue about the best way to go about it.

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ELECTORAL COLLEGE: Many Americans feel the Electoral College, established when the country was relatively large and communications sluggish, should be eliminated so that citizens can vote directly for their president and vice president. This feeling prevailed during the election dispute of 2000. On election night, it appeared that Democratic candidate Al Gore would be the winner with 51 million popular votes and 267 electoral votes against Republican George W. Bush's 50.5 million popular and 246 electoral. Florida's twenty-five electoral votes were still in dispute due to problems with the punch-card ballots and whether or not some were valid. Bush was leading in Florida by 1,700 popular votes but a later machine recount lowered the lead to a few hundred. The parties battled about the constitutionality of hand-counting methods and other issues over the next several weeks. Finally, in December, the Supreme Court settled the dispute and in a 5-4 vote declared George Bush the winner in Florida, even though Gore had secured the nation's popular vote. In 2004, reacting to the 2000 election controversy, Congressman Gene Green proposed the Every Vote Counts Amendment, which would eliminate the Electoral College. Strictly speaking, the Constitution does not give individuals the right to vote for president. The states decide how their voters choose Electoral College delegates.

PROTECTING CHILDREN IN THE ELECTRONIC AGE: Once children began to have access to pornography and sexual predators could reach young people through websites and chat rooms, laws such as the Communications Decency Act and the Child Online Protection Act made their way through Congress. Later, the Supreme Court and lower courts felt these laws impinged on First Amendment rights. So far, the issue is back in the hands of parents, who can use filtering software to block inappropriate material.

The words of the United States Constitution themselves are quaint in their expression, but the force behind the ideas carries the weight of combat – mortal and intellectual – that wrenched a people free and thrust them into a world for which they were unprepared. The final document is a massive compromise composed of smaller compromises. It is far from perfect, but its imperfection provided a framework in which an incredibly diverse stew of people set to work.

The result is a republic, stitched together by a skein of laws, values, economics, transportation and communications networks, all bound by this contract signed by a small but highly influential group of 18th Century founders.

The deal was sealed on July 4, 1788, with a grand parade down Philadelphia's main street. " 'Tis done! We have become a nation!" cheered American citizen Dr. Benjamin Rush.

As the first reprints were read in coffeehouses, grog shops, and on village greens, the test began. More than 200 years later, American people of all races, colors, genders and faiths continue to test their Constitution every single day.

CREDITS

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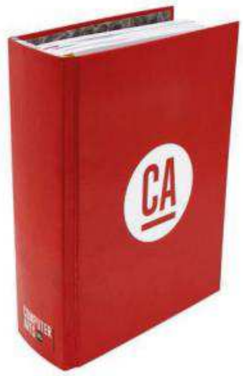

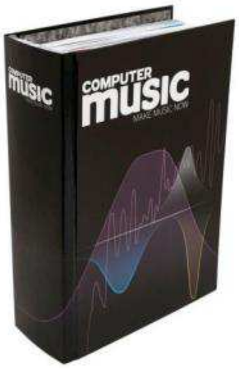
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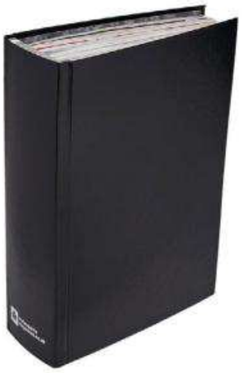

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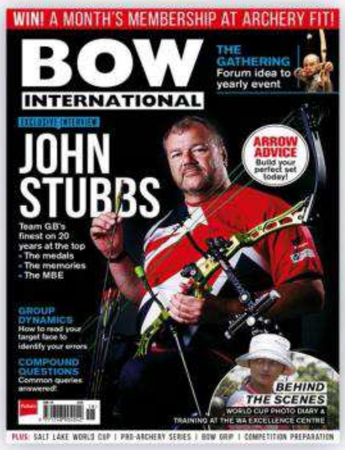
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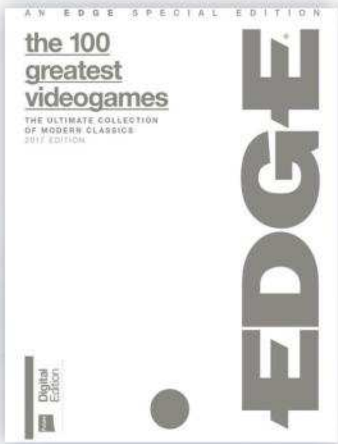
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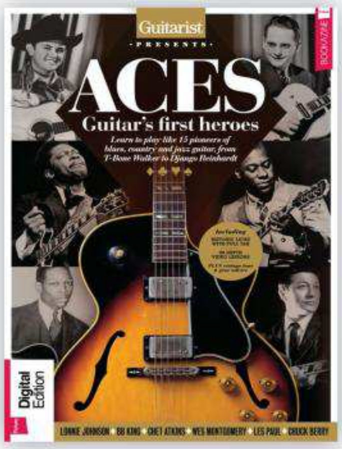
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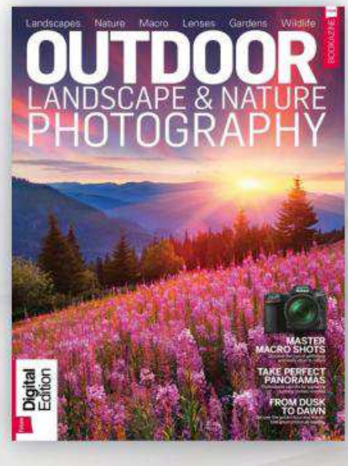
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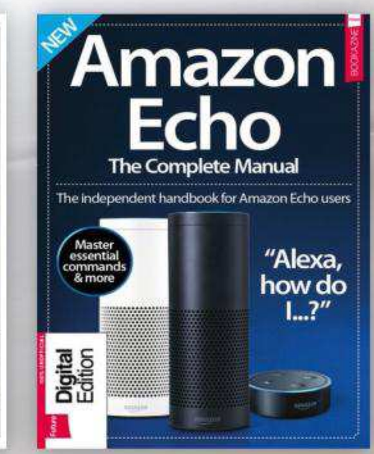
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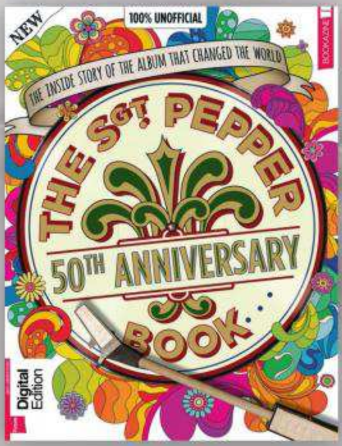
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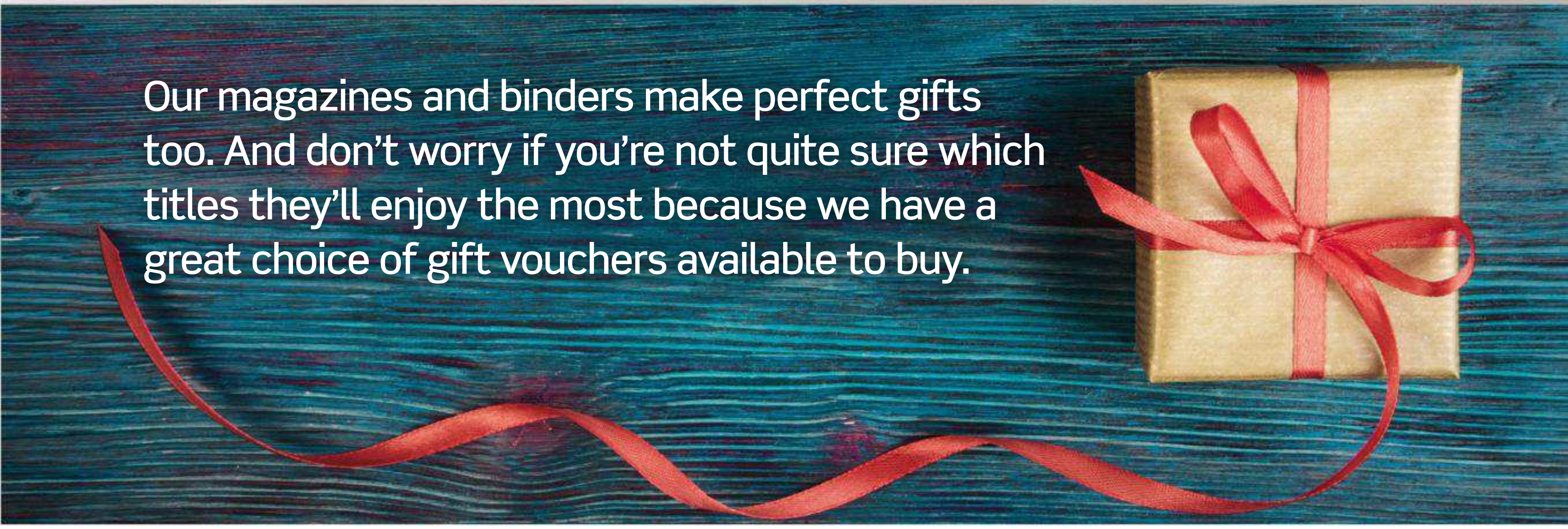

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